DRENCHED BOOK

TEXT FLY WITHIN THE BOOK ONLY

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OU_158424

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY



No. 1739, BODHISATTVA SIDDHĀRTHA, pp. 9, 11, 27, 69, 77, 101.

HANDBOOK

TO THE

Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum

BY

H. HARGREAVES,

Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, Frontier Circle, and Honorary Curator, Peshawar Museum.

REVISED EDITION



CALCUTTA: GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
CENTRAL PUBLICATION BRANCH
1930

Price Rs. 1-14 *or* 3*s.* 3*d.*

To

D. BRAINERD SPOONER,

"These to his memory
since he held them dear."

PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION

So great was the demand for Dr. Spooner's Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum that the edition published in 1909 was out of print in 1918.

A re-issue of the original handbook would not, however, have met the needs of visitors, for in the intervening years the sculptures had doubled in number. Moreover, new legendary scenes required explanation and, in the light of increasing knowledge, reliefs of which the purport was once doubtful had become readily recognizable. A revised edition was, therefore, called for one which should deal with the enlarged collection and, at the same time, embody the results of later discoveries in this field of Buddhist art.

Although the matter is largely new, and a chapter has been added on the History and Art of Gandhāra, the general arrangement of the first edition has been preserved and it is hoped that this volume will, like its predecessor, provide visitors to the Museum with a handbook sufficiently explanatory of the sculptures while avoiding the excessive details of a catalogue.

Without the whole-hearted co-operation of M. Dilawar Khan, the former Custodian and present Curator of the Peshawar Museum, the completion of the Handbook, after my transfer from Peshawar, would have been impossible and for this and assistance in countless directions I am his most grateful debtor.

My obligations to previous writers on this subject are those enumerated in the Bibliography and the Preface to the First Edition, but to the list of these names I would add that of the late Dr. Spooner himself, the first Curator of the Peshawar Museum, to whose memory this volume is dedicated as a debt of gratitude by his friend, colleague and successor.

H. HARGREAVES.

PESHAWAR,

December 30, 1928.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST HANDBOOK

THIS Handbook has been written entirely for the use of residents in Peshawar and other visitors to the Peshawar Museum. It does not claim to be a catalogue of the sculptures, but is merely a popular guide-book that shall explain the sculptures to those on the spot and, it is hoped, make them more interesting. Controversial matters have not been altogether excluded, for it has been felt that possibly visitors would like to know the nature of the problems involved in the study of this school of art; but tedious archæological arguments have been avoided, and the specialist will observe that such new theories as are advanced here and there are merely stated rather than developed. The author hopes, however, that all controversial points have been duly indicated as such.

A word as to the arrangement of the sculptures may be appropriate. Each of the larger collections has been sub-divided into groups according to subjects, and these groups arranged in the cases in systematic sequence. All the sculptures in the Museum, furthermore, have been numbered consecutively, beginning in the right-hand gallery upstairs. It is hoped that this classification will facilitate the study of the collections.

My great obligations to M. Foucher, the well-known French archæologist, call for cordial acknowledgment. His brilliant work, "L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra", has been constantly referred to, while the

second part of the Introduction is little more than a compilation from his pages. I am also indebted to the Reverend Samuel Beal, whose interesting work, "The Romantic Legend of Sākya Buddha", has been most helpful in the interpretation of new sculptures; and particularly to Mr. Marshall, the Director General of Archæology in India, who has very kindly consented to edit this Handbook for me.

D. B. SPOONER.

PESHAWAR,

November 11, 1909.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER.	PAGE.
I.—History and Art of Gandhāra	1
II.—Introduction to the Buddha Legend	16
III.—The Sculptures	48
APPENDIX.—EXCAVATIONS IN GANDHĀRA	109
BIBLIOGRAPHY	111

LIST OF PLATES

PLATE--

1. Bodhisattva Siddhārtha. (No. 1739.) *Frontispiece.*
2. (*a*) Miracle of Śrāvastī. (No. 1527.)
   (*b*) Yakshas and garland. (No. 508.)
3. Ascetic Buddha. (No. 799).
4. (*a*) Bodhisattva Avalokitēśvara. (No. 200.)
   (*b*) Four-armed Hāritī. (No. 1773.)
   (*c*) Bodhisattva Maitreya. (No. 1866.)
5. (*a*) Submission of the Nāga Apalāla. (No. 28 L.).
   (*b*) Śyāma Jātaka. (No. 1891).
6. The Temptation A.
   First Sermon B.
   Unidentified Scene C.
   Devadatta's Assassins D.
   Mahāparinirvāṇa E.
   } No. 1844.
7. Hāritī and Pāñchika. (No. 241).
8. (*a*) Icthyocentaur. (No. 14 L.).
   (*b*) Frieze of standing figures. (No. 24 L.).
   (*c*) *Pipal* leaves with tendrils. (No. 15 L.).
9. (*a*) Buddha with crystal *urṇa*. (No. 1430.)
   (*b*) Royal female bearing miniature shrine. (No. 1427.)
10. Kanishka Relic Casket.

Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY AND ART OF GANDHĀRA.

HISTORY.

The greater part of the sculptures in the Peshawar Museum have been recovered in excavations [1] carried out by officers of the Archæological Survey of India in the Peshawar valley,[2] a region known anciently as Gandhāra. From the 6th century B.C. Gandhāra formed part of the Achæmenian Empire having been conquered in the reign of Cyrus. In the Bahistān inscription of Darius (*c.* 516 B.C.) the Gandhārians appear among the subject people and distinct from the Indians, the people of the Indus valley, referred to in another inscription of Darius, but little is really known of the history of Gandhāra until Alexander the Great overthrew the last Achæmenian king and succeeded to his dominions.

When in the cold weather of 327-326 B.C. the forces of Alexander the Great entered the Peshawar Valley Gandhāra was under the rule of a *rājā* named by the Greeks, Astes, whose capital was Pushkarāvatī, the modern Charsada,[3] on the Kabul river. Alexander

[1] A complete list of these excavations with bibliographical references is given in the Appendix.

[2] The remaining sculptures have reached the Museum from various sources but all emanate from the same region or the adjoining hill country.

[3] For an account of excavations at Charsada in 1903, *cf. A. S. I., 1902-3*, and for the antiquities recovered see Cases 25-29 and adjacent Table Cases in the upper left gallery of the Museum.

constituted the lower Kabul Valley and the recently conquered hills a special satrapy under a governor, Nicanor, and in the capital Pushkarāvatī left a Macedonian garrison under an officer named Philip. With Alexander's death at Babylon in 323 B.C. effective Macedonian rule ceased in India and by 317 B.C. the last Greek garrison had departed. Thus Greek rule in Gandhāra lasted less than ten years and its effects were short-lived.

Alexander's death was followed by a long struggle between his generals. The eastern portion of the empire, which in theory included the Indian dominions, fell eventually to Seleucus Nicator who, in 312 B.C., founded the dynasty known as the Seleucid kings of Syria. But when Seleucus, emulating Alexander, attempted to invade India he was checked by an Indian ruler, Chandragupta Maurya. Political relations between the two were settled by a treaty which fixed the Hindu Kush as the limit of the Seleucid kingdom and gave Gandhāra to the Maurya ruler whose capital was at Pāṭaliputra, the modern Patna. Thus, for the first time, Gandhāra became part of an Indian empire.

Proof that Gandhāra formed part of the Maurya dominions is afforded by the Rock Edicts of Aśoka still preserved at Shahbazgarhi, some ten miles to the east of Mardan. The Singhalese chronicle, the *Mahāvaṃsa*, also records the name of the Buddhist apostle Madhyantika, who, sent by Aśoka, converted the people of Gandhāra and Kashmir (*c.* 256 B.C.).

After the death of Aśoka, *c.* 231 B.C., the empire of Magadha began to break up and Gandhāra as one of the most distant provinces was able once again to assert her independence, but only to fall a prey to Bactrian Greek invaders from the north-west.

It will be recalled that the Seleucid empire extended to the Hindu Kush. About 250 B.C. two parts of this empire became independent kingdoms, namely Bactria under Diodotus and Parthia under Arsaces. Parthia

grew gradually at the expense of Syria and lasted until 226 A.D. and in the reign of Mithridates I, 171-138 B.C., extended as far east as the Indus.

Bactria,[1] the north-west region of present day Afghanistan, was a stronghold of Hellenic culture, its rulers a military aristocracy, thoroughly Greek in sentiment and religion, ruling over a helot population. Diodotus, the son of the founder of this kingdom, was deposed by one Euthydemus whose son Demetrius carried his arms across the Hindu Kush and conquered the upper Kabul Valley and Gandhāra [2] (*c.* 190 B.C.).

The family of Demetrius was driven out of its possessions in Bactria, the Kabul Valley and Gandhāra by a ruler Eucratides. Princes of the house of Eucratides continued to rule until about 135 B.C., when they, in turn, were expelled from Bactria by the Śakas, a Scythian tribe from Central Asia. They were also deprived of Gandhāra by these same Śakas about the beginning of the 1st Century B.C. but continued to rule in the upper Kabul Valley until about 50 A.D. when Hermaeus, the last Greek prince, was succeeded by the Kushāns, a branch of the Yeuh-chi, another Scythian tribe. Thus for a hundred years Indo-Greek kings ruled in Gandhāra and, in the Kabul Valley, for nearly a century longer. From coins we know the names of thirty-five Indo-Greek kings and three queens who ruled in the Punjab and in north-west India, but we possess practically no other information concerning them.

The Śakas who superseded the Greeks in Bactria in 135 B.C. and occupied Gandhāra towards the beginning of the 1st Century B.C. had themselves been driven out of Bactria by the Yeuh-chi, another similar race from north-west China. The passes of the Hindu Kush being closed to them they appear to have travelled by way of Sīstān (Śakasthāna) into the Indus Valley. In so doing

[1] The modern Balkh preserves the name.
[2] His conquests also included part of the Punjab.

they seem to have mingled and intermarried freely with the eastern branch of the Parthians who are known as the Pahlavas and whose rulers bear Parthian names.

Both Śakas and Pahlavas ruled in north-west India and coins of the Śaka rulers, Maues, Azes and Azilises, are frequently recovered at Taxila and in Gandhāra and an inscription of a Pahlava ruler, named Gondopharnes, recovered at Takht-i-Bāhī and dated in the 26th year of his reign and in the year 103 of an unknown era [1] is preserved in the Lahore Museum.

But Gandhāra had not yet come to the end of its invasions. The Yeuh-chi, who had driven the Śakas from Bactria, were sufficiently powerful to force the passes of the Hindu Kush, to conquer the Kabul Valley and about 50 A.D. to overthrow Hermaeus, the last prince of the house of Eucratides. The principal tribe of the Yeuh-chi was the Kushāns and their ruler Kujula Kadphises extended his conquests to Gandhāra and his successors to the Punjab and even into the basin of the Ganges.

Of these Kushān rulers the greatest and most powerful was Kanishka who made Purushapura, the modern Peshawar, his winter capital and extended his conquests from the borders of China to those of Bengal. Then, and for the only time in its chequered history, Gandhāra ceased to be a frontier.[2] Under Kanishka and his successors Huvishka and Vāsudeva it enjoyed its period of greatest prosperity and it is to this era that, with one exception, [3] all the ancient monuments of Gandhāra, from

[1] If, as generally accepted, the era is the Vikrama Samvat which began in 58 B.C., then Gondopharnes began to reign in 19 A.D. and was still reigning in 45 A.D.

[2] Chandragupta Maurya's kingdom is said to have extended to the Hindu Kush but Aśoka's Rock Edicts at Shahbazgarhi seem to indicate that Gandhāra was actually a frontier as the seven similar edicts are all found on the borders of the Maurya kingdom.

It is true that for some periods Afghanistan formed part of the Moghul Empire but it was held with difficulty and Gandhāra was in reality as much a frontier then as it is to-day. Attock, the ferry station on the Indus, established and fortified by Akbar in 1581-83 was so named because it was the north-west limit (*ātak*) of his empire.

[3] The Aśoka Rock Edict of Shahbazgarhi, *c.* 256 B.C.

the stūpas of the Khyber to the ruined walls still visible in the high banks of the Indus at Hund, are to be assigned, and it is religious foundations of Kushān date that have yielded most of the sculptures in this museum.

Kanishka is said to have been converted to Buddhism and the Buddhist texts make of him a second Aśoka and of Gandhāra a second holy land of Buddhism. Although the Buddha in all probability never travelled west of the present United Provinces we find that before the 5th Century numerous sites in Gandhāra were definitely associated with, and owed their fame to events connected with the Buddha in his last or previous existences,[1] while the sanctity of Peshawar was assured by Kanishka's great *stūpa* reputed to enshrine relics of the Buddha, and by the Pātrachaitya wherein was preserved his *pātra* (begging bowl).

It was from the site of Kanishka's stūpa that Dr. D. B. Spooner recovered by excavation in March 1909 these same relics [2] of the Buddha and the bronze reliquary in which they had been enshrined, and it is Kanishka himself whom we see in the centre of the casket between figures of the sun and moon, Pl. 10.

After the death of Vāsudeva, *c.* 225 A.D., the Kushān power declined, though it survived in the Punjab until the middle of the 5th Century. Of the history of Gandhāra during this period we know little until about 400 A.D. when it was visited by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Fa Hian. From his description of the stūpa of the Eye Gift "adorned with silver and gold" and his statement that some seven hundred priests still served the Pātrachaitya at Peshawar it is clear that Buddhism was

[1] The stūpa of the "Eye gift" to mark the spot where the Buddha, "when he was a Bodhisattva, gave his eyes in charity" was located at Pushkarāvatī, the scene of the Viśvantara Jātaka at Po-lu-sha (Shahbazgarhi), the site of the conversion of the Yakshi Hāritī, some 50 *li* to the north-west of Pushkarāvatī, and the scene of the Śyāma Jātaka "fifty *li* or so" still further to the north.

[2] The relics were presented to the Buddhists of Burma and have been re-enshrined at Mandalay. The casket is preserved in the Peshawar Museum and a plaster cast is exhibited in the Central Hall.

relatively vigorous and flourishing. But when in 520 A.D. Song-yun, another Chinese pilgrim, reached Gandhāra he records, "This is the country which the Ye-tha destroyed....since which event two generations have passed." These Ye-tha or White Huns, a barbarous horde from Central Asia, swept down into India towards the end of the 5th Century carrying fire and sword everywhere in their train, obtained possession of the Kushān dominions and eventually overthrew the great empire of the Guptas.

Song-yun speaks of the Ye-tha king (Mihiragula), whom he met in camp, as cruel and vindictive, practising the most barbarous atrocities, worshipping demons and opposed to the law of the Buddha. Nevertheless he still records the existence at Po-lu-sha (Shahbazgarhi) of beautiful images "covered with gold sufficient to dazzle the eyes" and, within the temple, paintings of the Viśvantara Jātaka so vividly lifelike as to bring tears to the eyes of the barbarians. But he was the last to see the glories of the Buddhist shrines of Gandhāra, for some fifteen years later Mihiragula destroyed sixteen hundred of its religious establishments, killed two-thirds of the inhabitants and reduced the remainder to slavery.

From this calamity Gandhāra never recovered and when a hundred years later Hiuan Tsang, the most famous of the Chinese pilgrims, passed through Gandhāra the traces of this devastation were still clearly legible on the face of the desolated land. He found it without a king and a dependency of Kapiśa[1] and not only depopulated but more than half ruined by the evils of war. He mentions some fifteen religious establishments among those still occupied, but of the rest records with pathetic brevity, "There are about one thousand *saṅghārāmas*[2] which are deserted and in ruins. They are filled with wild

[1] The Kapiśa of Hiuan Tsang is the present Afghan Kohistan
[2] Buddhist monasteries.

shrubs and solitary to the last degree. The stūpas are mostly decayed."[1]

But the worst invasions were yet to come and Gandhāra under the rule of Turki Shāhiya kings of Kabul[2] and of their successors the Hindu Shāhiya rulers of Ohind (Hund) still remained Indian in manners and language until the beginning of the 11th Century when the Muhammadan invasion swept away the last traces of Indian art, language and culture.

ART.

The school of art which arose and flourished in Gandhāra was not the first to arise on Indian soil. Long before we have the Ancient Indian School represented by the sculptures of the Bharhut stūpa,[3] the railings of Bodh Gaya,[4] the gateways of Sanchi,[5] the façades of the rockcut temples of Orissa[6] and the Konkan,[7] and the pre-Kushān sculptures of Mathura.[8]

Now these works of the Ancient School show a continuous development from the rudimentary technique of most of those of Bharhut, through the more developed style of the reliefs on the Bodh Gaya railing to the masterly execution of the best sculptures of Sanchi.

The school of Gandhāra, on the other hand, though later in date is not a natural continuation of the Ancient Indian School but exhibits clear evidence of Hellenistic influence, displays a greater mastery over technical difficulties and introduces new and foreign motifs.

[1] Beal, *Buddhist Records*, Vol. I, p. 98.
[2] The Turki Shāhiya kings of Kabul boasted their descent from the Kushān king, Kanishka.
[3] *c.* middle of 2nd Century B.C.
[4] Early 1st Century B.C.
[5] Latter half of 1st Century B.C.
[6] *c.* 1st Century B.C.
[7] Latter half of 1st Century B.C.
[8] Middle of 2nd Century B.C. onward.

Nevertheless, like its predecessors, it still remains at the service of Buddhist piety and the monuments to be adorned by the reliefs and images, the legends to be illustrated, the ends to be served are still Buddhist.

Thus though the form be strongly Hellenistic, the matter is Indian and consequently we find many old motifs of the early school retained practically unchanged. Some are, however, modified and a few entirely transformed. To the already numerous Indian or Indianized motifs—atlantes, fantastic creatures, griffons and the flora and fauna of India, the new school brought the vine, the acanthus, Cupids and garlands,[1] Pl. 2 (*b*), fabulous creatures such as the hippocampus and triton, Pl. 8 (*a*), marine divinities, the gods of Olympus and all the entourage of Dionysus, while to the architectural details of the ancient school, railings, bead and reel and sawtooth mouldings, horse-shoe arches, trapezoidal doorways, merlons and Indo-Persepolitan pilasters, the Græco-Buddhist sculptors contributed Indo-Corinthian pilasters, acanthus capitals, Pl. 8 (*b*), modillion cornices and foliated mouldings, Pl. 5 (*a*).

But the greatest contribution to Indian art resulting from this union of Hellenistic genius and Buddhist piety is the figure of the Buddha, Pl. 2 (*a*), Pl. 3, Pl. 9 (*a*). In the earlier sculptures of the Ancient Indian school illustrating events in the last existence of the Buddha, the Master is never represented, his presence in any scene being indicated by some sacred symbol. His riderless horse with umbrella depicts the flight from the palace,[2] an empty throne under a tree the Enlightenment;[3] but Gautama himself never appears and it was the Hellenistic artists of Gandhāra familiar with the comprehensive pantheon of Greek art who first attempted to portray

[1] The *amorini*, Pl. 5 (*a*), lose their classic form and in No. 241, Pl. 7, appear as little yakshas while in Pl. 2 (*b*) the ankleted figures are possibly no longer Cupids but the yaksha offspring of Pāñchika and Hāritī bearing a long flexible purse.

[2] Introd. 13.

[3] Introd. 19.

the Master.[1] That this product of Indo-Greek ateliers failed ultimately to satisfy Indian ideals lessens in no way the credit of the achievement of the Græco-Buddhist artists, for whatever may be thought of the later developments of the Buddha image in India proper there can be no doubt that it originated in Gandhāra and that it is not only the oldest in the world but also the source from which the artists of Central Asia and the Far East drew their inspiration. This alone invests it with great historical interest and importance for it can hardly be contested that the Buddha figure is Asia's greatest artistic success.

Closely connected with the figure of the Buddha are the Bodhisattvas,[2] Pl. 1, Pl. 4 (*a*), (*c*), another contribution of the school of Gandhāra to Indian art.

The artists worked not only in stone,[3] but also in stucco, terracotta and clay and it must not be forgotten that these images were invariably embellished with polychrome and gold. Evidence of this is furnished not only by Song-yun's account of the dazzling images of Po-lu-sha but by 108 M,[4] 943 M (*a*), (*b*), (*c*),[5] No. 227,[6] and Nos. 1797 and 1809.[7]

We have already seen that Buddhism reached Gandhāra about 256 B.C. and that from *c.* 190 B.C. to *c.* 100 B.C. the

[1] The priority of the Græco-Buddhist image of the Buddha is no longer unchallenged and Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy in the works detailed in the Bibliography advances the claim of the Mathura Buddha figure, if not to priority, at least to equal antiquity.

[2] The term Bodhisattva is the designation of any person, human or divine, who has reached that stage of development which assures his becoming a Buddha. In history only one Buddha is known, namely Gautama himself, who ceased to ba a Bodhisattva on attaining Buddhahood. But the Buddhists have evolved a theory of countless others, among the best known of whom are Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāni.

[3] The stone used for most of the sculptures is a variety of greyish blue schist which varies considerably in fineness, some of the most beautiful and seemingly early friezes being executed in a close-grained homogeneous stone lending itself to the execution of reliefs rivalling in delicacy those of workers in ivory.

[4] Table Case A.

[5] Table Case M.

[6] Case 11.

[7] Case 76.

country was ruled by Indo-Greek princes. This period would seem to have been peculiarly favourable to the rise of the school of Græco-Buddhist art. But when we examine the coins of these rulers it is Greek gods and goddesses we see occupying the place of honour on the reverse and the same is true of the coins of their Śaka-Pahlava successors. But Hellenistic culture must even then have been making itself felt in Gandhāra though its art, apparently, was not yet devoted to the service of Buddhism.[1] Still it is not until the time of Kanishka that the Buddha figure appears on a coin. The conventionalization of the Buddha figures on the Kanishka casket, Pl. 10, makes it plain that the origin of this image must be assigned to some pre-Kanishka date and confirmation of this is afforded by the gold reliquary from Bimaran which likewise bears representations of the Buddha and which is said to have been found along with coins of Azes.[2] It therefore appears as if the school of Gandhāra sprang into being between the passing of Indo-Greek rule and the coming of the Kushāns, that is during the Śaka-Pahlava supremacy in the 1st Century B.C. Nevertheless it must not be forgotten that the vast majority of the sculptures in the Peshawar Museum have been recovered, not from Śaka-Pahlava monuments, but from the ruins of religious establishments assignable with certainty to Kushān times.

The sculptures themselves do not, as might have been expected, afford much assistance towards removing the uncertainty as to their date for, unfortunately, among the many thousands of Gandhāra sculptures we possess, few are inscribed, still fewer are dated and none of these in any known era. A recent acquisition No. 1944,[3]

[1] No Indo-Greek city site in Gandhāra has yet been excavated. It is such sites which may be expected to yield the earliest efforts of the Gandhāra School. To this early period such sculptures as Figs. 129-131 of A. G.-B. G. might well be assigned, and, perhaps, No. 1938, Menander's wrestlers (Case 85).

[2] These coins do not, of course, prove the casket to be of the time of Azes though the presumption is not unwarranted, as it was a contemporary coin that was found with the Kanishka reliquary.

[3] Central Hall, *cf.* p. 51.

however, dated in the year 89 seems, on palæographic grounds, to be referable to the Kanishka era and may with some confidence be assigned to between 166-216 A.D.[1] The composition and style of this relief point to a period when the school was in full vigour and prove that, long after Kanishka, the artists of Gandhāra could, at least in stone, execute works of considerable merit. Still neither the dated inscriptions nor considerations of style enable us to determine with any approach to certainty the chronological sequence of the sculptures. As a general rule the earlier ones approximate more closely to Hellenistic work but the compositions are frequently so complex that certainty can rarely be reached. Nos. 14 L, 24 L and 15 L, Pl. 8, are probably early products of the school; No. 1739, Pl. 1, No. 1527, Pl. 2 (*a*), No. 200, Pl. 4 (*a*), Nos. 1866, Pl. 4 (*c*), 28 L, Pl. 5 (*a*), and 1944 of the school in its full vigour; and No. 1773, Pl. 4 (*b*), in its decline; while Nos. 1440, 87 L and No. 403 appear to mark its complete decadence.

The interest of the works of this school, however, is by no means limited to their religious and æsthetic aspects, important as are these to the students of Buddhism and of the history of art. They throw a flood of light on the life of this doubly classical land of Gandhāra during some five centuries, and place at the disposal of the Indianist a comprehensive dictionary of antiquities illustrated by contemporary artists. The costumes of all classes from princes to paupers, the furnishing of houses, weapons of war and the chase, armour, articles of toilet and jewellery, litters, howdahs, carts and carriages, horses and harness, tools, agricultural implements, cult objects and musical instruments are all depicted. We are shown the people at work, play and worship, engaged in acts of devotion, marriages, cremations, donations, sports and visits of ceremony and we are not left ignorant of the appearance

[1] For this reading and date I am indebted to Dr. Sten Konow The date of Kanishka is itself a matter of controversy.

of dancers, musicians, travellers, ascetics, wrestlers, bravoes and robbers. The forms which gnomes, dryads, water spirites and demons assumed in popular imagination are all depicted as well as the battlemented and guarded city walls and gateways which defended the people from their more substantial and mundane enemies.

These sculptures come also as a welcome corrective and addition to the Buddhist canonical books, revealing more precisely the form Buddhism took in Gandhāra. The abundance of images and particularly those of Hāritī and Pāñchika prove that the Buddhism of the texts did not hold the field unchallenged. The common need of the heart for objects of devotion and the still more human desire for children and riches were met by these images. The numerous monuments and their wealth of sculpture are evidence, too, of the prosperity of the country and the opulence of its inhabitants who, if we may believe the inscriptions, were not less mixed in race than the sculptures themselves in style, for if the Sādhakamitra of No. 280 and the Dharmapriya and Buddhapriya of No. 1944 are Indians the Menander of No. 1938 [1] and the Agesilaos of the Kanishka relic casket at least can clearly claim Greek descent.

The school enjoyed an exceptionally long life and though we know comparatively little of its earlier works we are fully informed from Kushān times. The highest artistic development seems to have been reached in the 2nd Century A.D. and this was followed by a very long period of prosperity marked by the production of countless sculptures of a uniform level of mediocrity, the art of the studio being replaced by the craftsmanship of the workshop. A very long and slow decline succeeded, evidenced by loss of technical skill, monotonous repetition and weakness of composition, but stucco continued to be used with considerable vigour until the end of the 5th Century A.D.

[1] *Cf.* p. 47 and footnote.

Buddhist art in Gandhāra received its first blow in the early part of the 6th Century at the hands of the ferocious White Hun ruler, Mihiragula. After the passing of the White Hun domination Buddhism again revived and in the neighbourhood of the larger towns some of the monasteries and stūpas appear to have been restored.[1] Some ancient images and reliefs from the ruins were brought into use and stucco work again adorned the bases of stūpas, but life had departed from the art as indicate only too plainly such figures as Nos. 840-1, 843, 876.[2] Nevertheless Buddhism lingered on in Gandhāra until the Muhammadan invasion (1021 A.D.), but by that time the greater part of the monuments were already hidden under their ruins awaiting the spade of the excavator, to the success of whose efforts the collection bears ample witness.

[1] Stein, *A. S. I.*, 1911-12, p. 101.
[2] Table Case L.

CHRONOLOGY.

		B.C.
1.	Birth of Siddhārtha Gautama—founder of Buddhism	*c.* 563
2.	Death of Siddhārtha Gautama	483
3.	Gandhāra, a part of Persian Empire	558—321
4.	Alexander invades Gandhāra	327—326
5.	Death of Alexander	323
6.	Alexander's last garrison leaves India	317
7.	Seleucus, successor of Alexander in Western Asia, checked in India by Chandragupta Maurya. Gandhāra becomes part of Mauryan Empire	305
8.	Aśoka Maurya sends Buddhist Missionaries to Gandhāra. His inscription at Shahbazgarhi	*c.* 256
9.	Bactria becomes independent under Diodotus	*c.* 250
10.	Demetrius of Bactria conquers the Kabul Valley, Gandhāra and the Punjab	*c.* 190
11.	Heliocles, King of Bactria, driven across the Hindu Kush by the Śakas	*c.* 135
12.	Śakas invade N. W. India and later obtain possession of Gandhāra	*c.* 100
13.	Rise of the Gandhāra School	First Century B.C.
14.	Pahlava dynasty ruling in N. W. India	*c.* 50
		A.D.
15.	Gondopharnes, Pahlava king ruling in Gandhāra. Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of year 103	21—50
16.	Conquest of the Kabul Valley by the Kushāns and extinction of Greek rule north of the Indus	*c.* 50
17.	Kushān power extended over N. W. India	*c.* 75
18.	Kanishka, Kushān King. Græco-Buddhist art seems to have flourished greatly in his reign as a result probably of his conversion to Buddhism and the increased material prosperity of the country. Buddha image first appears on his coins but is already conventionalized	*c.* 120
19.	Fa Hian, Chinese pilgrim, visits Gandhāra	400
20.	Song-yun, „ „ „ „	520
21.	Mihiragula, the White Hun King, destroys sixteen hundred stūpas and monasteries of Gandhāra and slays two-thirds of its inhabitants	530—540
22.	Hiuan Tsang, the most famous of the Chinese pilgrims, visits India	629—645
23.	Muhammadan invasion of Gandhāra	1021

CHAPTER II.

INTRODUCTION TO THE BUDDHA LEGEND.

To the student of Buddhist sculpture, the enquiry as to how far the various legends connected with the life of Gautama Buddha are historical, is not one of importance. It is the legends alone that can explain the scenes represented in the sculptures, and for this reason a brief account of the Buddha's life, as it is known and believed in by his followers, is a necessary introduction to our subject.

The exact date of the Buddha's birth is not known. His death, according to Dr. Fleet, took place on the 13th of October, 483 B.C., and, as he is said to have been 80 years of age at the time, it is probably a close approximation to the truth to date his birth in 563 B.C. The legend has it that this event was not only attended by countless supernatural phenomena, but also presaged by divers dreams and visions. Siddhārtha himself, they say, was resident in the Tushita Heaven when the time approached for him to be reborn on earth, and he long deliberated as to who were worthy of being his parents, and ultimately decided to be born of Māyā, the queen of King Śuddhodana, the ruler of the Śākya clan whose capital was Kapilavastu in the present Nepal Terai. Accordingly, he descended from heaven and entered the right side of the queen under the form, as it seemed to the sleeping Māyā, of a white elephant with six tusks. Here he reposed until the hour of birth arrived. When the time came the queen was disporting herself in one of the royal gardens outside the city, known as the Lumbinī, and the miraculous event itself is said to have taken place as she stood beneath a śāl tree.

From the place of his birth he was brought back to the capital amid the rejoicings of the people, and the

astrologers were set to cast his horoscope. Noticing that the infant's body bore the 32 major and the 80 minor marks of a "Great Being",[1] they seem to have been in doubt as to whether he would become a Universal Monarch or a perfect Buddha, the saviour of the world, for the marks of both are the same. But when the Ṛishi Asita, who was attracted to the spot from a great distance by visions with which his miraculous power gifted him, came and beheld the child, he pronounced him to be indeed the Bodhisattva, that is to say, the future Buddha. The royal father, however, does not seem to have been attracted by the prospect of his son and heir abandoning the throne and going forth as a humble mendicant to lead the life of an ascetic, and, therefore, exerted himself to attract the prince to worldly things by indulging him in every form of luxury and pleasure. He was early married to Yaśodharā, having established his right to win her by excelling all the rival Śākya youths in a series of games and contests arranged for that purpose, and he lived with her and the other ladies of his household in the utmost happiness until early manhood. His father, however, remembering the prophecy that he would renounce the world, kept him almost a prisoner within the palace walls.

When, in the fulness of time the hour for the Great Renunciation drew nigh, the young man, being impelled thereto by the gods, prevailed upon his charioteer Chandaka to take him without the enclosure on a pleasure trip. Then it was that the gods, in order to set his mind on spiritual things, showed him the spectacle of an old, decrepit man in the highway. This was succeeded by a second vision of a man sick and worn with pain, and then by a third vision of a loathsome corpse. Touched to the heart by those pitiful spectacles the young prince demanded explanations, and, learning thus the truth of

[1] Of these physical characteristics of the Buddha the sculptures show but one the *urṇa*, the whorl of luminous hair between the eyes, usually represented as a raised mole-like projection. *Cf.* No. 239 in the vestibule and Pl. 9 (*a*).

Old Age, Sickness and Death, was plunged in grief and meditation, until a fourth vision, that of a holy ascetic, opened his eyes to the path he should follow to obtain freedom from these ills. Meanwhile the king, terrified by the pensiveness that had come upon his son, redoubled his efforts to divert his attention from the grim realities of life and to keep him closely confined within the palace. But the gods so filled him with a feeling of satiety and disgust for worldly things, that, with their assistance, he fled in the night leaving his wife, his home and the throne that might have been his.

This is the Great Renunciation, so often sung in Buddhist story and so often depicted in the various schools of Buddhist sculpture. From this time forth he lived for several years as a mendicant seeking the way of salvation by fasting and mortification of the flesh as the Brahmans both of those days and of our own times do. But after many enquiries into the various systems of belief then prevailing, and after long trial of the many forms of asceticism common to the Hindus of his time, he abandoned their methods in despair. It was not long after this that the secret of salvation flashed upon him, as he sat in meditation beneath the Bodhi tree at Bodh-gaya, and he attained to that enlightenment by virtue of which he ceased to be a Bodhisattva and became a perfect Buddha.

Almost immediately after the Enlightenment the Buddha proceeded to Sārnāth near Benares, where in the Deer Park of that place he preached his first sermon and thus entered on his ministry. This incident is the so-called "turning of the Wheel of the Law", and is naturally a very favourite subject for representation by Buddhist artists.

With this brief sketch of the early years of the Buddha's life, we may pass on to those particular legends connected with the great Teacher which are illustrated by sculptures now in the Peshawar Museum. In the following

brief list the sculptures illustrative of each legend are mentioned at the end of each paragraph, and conversely the paragraphs themselves are referred to in the detailed description of the sculptures.

1. Dīpaṅkara-Jātaka.—It is not easy to become a Buddha, the texts inform us, indeed, such a position is to be attained only after a long series of existences and the display of the most heroic virtues, and from such a probation even Śākya Muni himself was not exempt. The stories of his previous lives as given in the Buddhist Birth Stories (*Jātakas*) enumerate some 550 incarnations as bird, beast and human being. The Peshawar collections contain no representations of *jātakas* depicting the Buddha in animal existences. The one most commonly represented is the Dīpaṅkara-jātaka. The Buddha in the reliefs is, therefore, not the historical Buddha Gautama but the earliest of his twenty-four predecessors, a Buddha named Dīpaṅkara. Once when this Buddha Dīpaṅkara was about to visit a certain town, news of his coming reached a young ascetic named Megha or Sumati. This pious youth, anxious to pay his respects to the great Teacher, and having just won a certain sum of money by his display of Vedic knowledge, hastened to the town to purchase some flowers to cast in worship before Dīpaṅkara. Now it so happened that the king of the country anxious to pay homage to the Buddha had ordered that all the flowers available should be reserved for him. Sumati thus found himself in difficulties. However, he chanced to meet a maiden, carrying a water jar, who had been so fortunate as to obtain seven lotuses. Five of these he purchased from her, on condition that in all future births she should be his wife. The purchase of these flowers from the maiden is the first act of the drama represented by the sculpture wherein the youth and the maiden are seen standing to one side bargaining. Having completed this purchase, the youth turns and prepares to cast the flowers before

the Buddha, who has meanwhile arrived on the scene. The flowers, however, when thrown, do not fall to the ground but remain suspended about the Buddha's head, as is plainly shown in the sculpture No. 439. Impressed by this miracle the youth prostrates himself in adoration, at the same time letting down his long hair and spreading it as a carpet before the feet of the Buddha. Touched by this act of devotion, Dīpaṅkara Buddha then addresses the young man and prophesies that in due time he will attain to enlightenment and become a Buddha. By a further manifestation of miraculous power, the youth is then mysteriously raised up into the air, where he again kneels and continues his adoration of Dīpaṅkara. (135, 247, 439, 781, 783, 810, 816, 1122, 1379, 1554, 1852.)

In the sculpture all these various acts are represented, being grouped together into one composition. The young ascetic, it should be remembered, was destined later to become the Gautama Buddha of history, while in the maiden, Buddhists see Yaśodharā, Siddhārtha's youthful bride, whom he abandoned in the Great Renunciation.

2. Śyāma-Jātaka.—In this existence the future Buddha was born as Śyāma, a model of filial piety and the sole support of his aged and blind parents who lived as hermits in a remote part of the Himalayas. One day when drawing water he was struck by the arrow of the king of Benares who was hunting deer in the forest, but was afterwards miraculously restored to life. (1891.)

Only four scenes of the story are depicted in the relief, No. 1891, Pl. 5 (*b*): (A) the slaying of Śyāma, (B) the hermitage with the two leaf-huts of the father and mother, (C) the king leading the blind ascetics to the body of their dead son, and (D) the parents in grief kneeling by the dead body. In the third scene the blindness of the parents is most cleverly suggested.

Hiuan-Tsang, who was in India in 629-645 A.D., mentions in his description of Gandhāra a stūpa about ten

miles from Pushkarāvatī (Charsada) which was then believed to mark the site of this edifying story, and it is not impossible that the mound known locally as Periānodhērī, near the large village of Gandheri may conceal the remains of that monument.

3. Viśvantara-Jātaka.—The most famous of all the Jātakas is that which recounts the penultimate existence of the Buddha, when born as Prince Viśvantara, the son of the king of Sivi, he realized on earth the perfection of charity. As the country of Kaliṅga was suffering from famine consequent on a prolonged drought, the king in desperation sent some Brahmans of his court to beg from the ever charitable Viśvantara a miraculous white elephant which had the power of producing rain whenever desired and was naturally one of the most valuable state treasures. Viśvantara without hesitation presented the elephant to the Brahmans and for this more generous than diplomatic act he, on the angry protests of his father's subjects, was banished from the kingdom, and with his faithful wife and two young children left for the distant jungle appointed as his place of banishment. (1366.)

Even on the road to exile he gave away in alms, first his horses and then his chariot. Later, in the jungle a wicked Brahman begged from him his children and finally The King of The Gods (Śakra), in disguise, obtained from this monomaniac of charity even his wife!

All, however, ends happily and the prince and his family are finally reunited at his father's court.

In No. 1366 which appears to depict the first scene of the story, we see the elephant of state on the left and, in the centre, the princely Viśvantara in the act of presenting it to an aged Brahman and ratifying the gift in the orthodox way by pouring water on the recipient's hand. The figure on the extreme right with arms thrown up in consternation may well be one of the dismayed

populace whose later anger resulted in Viśvantara's banishment.

The story is of special local interest as by the sixth century it had been located in Gandhāra and the Chinese pilgrims Song-yun, 520 A.D. and Hiuan-Tsang, 629-645 A.D., both found that every one of the numerous Buddhist religious foundations in the neighbourhood of Po-lu-sha[1] was reputed to recall one or other episode of this edifying legend.

4. Queen Māyā's dream.—The sculptures portraying this scene are meant to illustrate the conception of the Buddha. Originally the whole incident was felt to be only the dream announcing to Māyā the approaching conception of the child. But having been so often represented in sculpture, the belief seems to have grown that the incident was a real one. The child is seen descending from the Tushita Heaven in the form of a white elephant, which according to the story ought to have six tusks. His divine character is shown by the halo which surrounds him. Māyā, the queen, is represented as lying asleep, and owing to the fact that in the story the elephant can only enter her *right* side, where he remains during gestation, the queen's head is regularly placed to the spectator's right, so that her right side is rendered accessible to the approaching elephant. A curious exception to this otherwise universal rule in Gandhāra is seen in sculpture No. 251 when the sculptor having placed the head to the left, has been forced to draw the queen with her back to the spectator to avoid breaking with the tradition. When other female figures are shown standing to right and left, they are understood to be palace guards in attendance on the sleeping queen. (138, 154-A, 251, 350, 566.)

5. Interpretation of the dream.—As was only natural, the queen demanded of the astrologers some

[1] The modern Shahbazgarhi about ten miles east of Mardan in the Peshawar district and the site of one of the eight recensions of Aśoka's Rock Edicts.

interpretation of this extraordinary dream, and this is the incident depicted in sculptures Nos. 147 and 251. The king and queen are shown seated side by side turning attentively toward a Brahmanical figure on the left, who remains seated before them as he expounds the meaning of the dream and foretells the birth of the wonderful child. The various texts are somewhat confused on the point, but it seems probable that the Brahman in question is the Ṛishi Asita. Sometimes one or more guards or other palace attendants figure in the composition, but they are not essential and their presence or absence appears to be determined by consideration of space. (147, 251.)

6. The birth, bath and seven steps.—The representation of the birth of Prince Siddhārtha, is naturally one of the commonest of all subjects in Buddhist art. The Queen had gone to the Lumbinī garden with her ladies, and was there disporting herself, when the appointed moment came. The sculptures show her standing in the centre of the composition, with her right hand upraised and clutching a branch of the śāl tree which represents the garden. She is supported by her sister, Mahāprajāpati, while attendants varying in number are clustered behind them. Meanwhile the divine child is shown issuing from the right side of the queen (in harmony with the legend of the conception). In reverent attitudes Brahmā and Indra stand to receive him. It is Indra with the high headdress, who actually receives the child in his outstretched arms, while Brahmā, who is distinguished by his coiffure, looks on in adoration. (32-L, 127, 359, 643-M, 1241, 1242, 1374, 1900, 1903, 1936.)

According to some texts no sooner is the Bodhisattva born than he takes seven steps in the direction of each of the cardinal points and it is in this act he is shown in No. 1374. Other texts state that the newly born infant is first bathed by the two *nāga-rājas*, Nanda and

Upananda, who holding themselves in the air create two streams of water, hot and cold, for this purpose. It is they whom we see in the unique relief No. 1900, and from whose mouths pour the cleansing streams.

In Gandhāra reliefs the bathing of the Bodhisattva is, however, usually assigned to Indra and Brahmā or to human attendants, as in the fragmentary right panel of No. 1903. The left panel of this relief shows the closed litter in which Māyā and the child are brought from the Lumbinī garden to the capital, Kapilavastu.

7. The Horoscope.—The story of the Horoscope, when the Ṛishi Asita foretold to the king and queen the wonderful nature of the child that had been born to them, differs in sculptural representation from the scene of the Interpretation of the Dream in one detail only. The composition is the same, but in the sculptures of the Horoscope the seated Ṛishi holds the child on his lap. The prophecy, which the Ṛishi is understood to be making to the royal couple, was unfortunately ambiguous. It so happens that the physical characteristics of a Buddha such as the little whorl of the luminous hair between the eyes, etc., are the same as those of a mighty emperor or "Universal Monarch". The Ṛishi himself declared that the child would become a Buddha, but the thought was repugnant to the royal father, who did his utmost to prevent this consummation. His hope was that, despite the prophecy of the Ṛishi, the child would grow up to be that mighty monarch which the peculiar marks on his body indicated equally with the Buddhahood. But the gods through pity for mankind thwarted the loving but selfish aspirations of the father's heart, and aided the prince to overcome all obstacles and become the perfect Buddha. (131, 643-M, 675, 1541, 1726.)

8. The writing lesson.—One of the incidents in the childhood of the prince Siddhārtha, frequently represented in the Buddhist sculpture, is that of the child's first writing lesson. Having been sent to school with

the other noble children of the Śākya clan, the young Siddhārtha gives evidence of his miraculous powers by enumerating and demonstrating his knowledge of more systems of writing than were known even to his *guru*, the learned Viśvāmitra. In the sculptures, the child is shown seated with a writing board on his knees, while the other scholars and the *guru* are grouped around. **(131, 151, 347.)**

9. The wrestling match and martial exercises.—The Buddhist books unfortunately give varying and confused accounts of the several physical exercises practised by the young prince. In some they appear as part of his youthful training, in others it is stated that this side of his education had been so neglected that the father of Yaśodharā raised objections when Śuddhodana first sought his daughter in marriage for his son Siddhārtha. But despite this handicap the Bodhisattva declared himself ready to compete with all comers in any branch of sport. Elaborate games were, therefore, instituted and the Bodhisattva, of course, easily defeated all other competitors. In fragment No. 143 is seen one of the events, a wrestling match and in No. 1408 we see the Bodhisattva engaged in archery and tug of war. The presence of a figure with a sling seems to indicate that slinging also formed part of the contest. (30-L, 143, 1408, 1899, 1902, 1906, 1938.)

10. The slaying of the elephant.—Naturally, King Śuddhodana was overjoyed at his son's splendid victory in these contests, and ordered that the great elephant of state should be sent to bring the young prince back from the field. But this aroused the jealousy of the future Buddha's wicked cousin, Devadatta who, with a single blow, felled the elephant as it was issuing from the city gate. Nanda, Siddhārtha's half-brother, seeing the huge carcase blocking the gate dragged it a little aside, that traffic might not be obstructed. Later, when the Bodhisattva himself arrived on the scene, he picked up

the huge creature with one hand and hurled it over the seven walls and moats of the city, in order that the decomposing mass might not infect the town. *Cf.* No. 1906. (142, 1906.)

11. The marriage of Siddhārtha.—No very detailed reliefs depicting the marriage of the Bodhisattva have ever been recovered but in No. 701-M, there is a summary version of the ceremony, the essential rites of which are union of hands, the circumambulation of the sacred fire and the aspersion of water. In No. 701-M, the bridal couple, hand in hand, stand on either side of the fire which is flanked by water pots, a single female with palm-like fan and one drummer serving to indicate the marriage party. Even though the ceremony must have been one familiar to those whom these reliefs were intended to edify, the absence of the officiating Brahman is somewhat surprising. In No. 250, only the left half of the scene is preserved and here the female attendant acts as train-bearer to the bride. Though the bride is missing in No. 1905, her long train, the fire and the water-pots leave no doubt as to the purport of the relief. (250, 469, 701-M, 1905.)

12. The first meditation of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha.—On a certain day the prince was taken by his father to see a ploughing match, where in the enclosed space the half-stripped men and the straining oxen were labouring strenuously before the assembled crowd. As the sun increased in strength, the sweat ran down both men and oxen, and for a few moments they ceased from their labours. In the meantime various insects came forth from the ground and flocks of birds descending in multitudes devoured them. Seeing the tired oxen, their necks bleeding from the yoke, the men toiling beneath the midday sun and the birds devouring the helpless insects, the heart of the Bodhisattva was filled with grief. Retiring from the enclosure he found a secluded place near a *jambu* tree and dismissing his

attendants sat down beneath its shady branches and through the love and pity produced by his reflections was wrapt in a state of unconscious ecstasy. (1739.)

Later, when Śuddhodana missing his son sent men to search for him, the prince was found lost in meditation, the shadow of the tree still shading him, though the shadow of the other trees had failed not to move with the ascending sun. The king summoned to the spot, beholding this sight, was filled with awe and bowed down at the feet of his son. It is probably his figure which we see at the lower left corner of the pedestal. In No. 1739, Pl. 1, the ploughing scene is relegated to the extreme right of the pedestal, while the left is occupied by two adoring donors before an incense burner.

13. The Cycle of the Great Renunciation.—The moral of the sculptures portraying the life of voluptuous ease which the young prince led in his early years, is to show how great was the sacrifice he made in abandoning all that was his and in wandering forth alone to seek salvation. The prince is usually represented seated on his couch with Yaśodharā, his chief queen, by his side, while numerous other ladies are grouped around, usually holding a variety of musical instruments. This is the first scene in the so-called Cycle of the Great Renunciation. The story is then developed by representing the satiety and disgust which came upon the prince. After seeing the visions of old age, sickness and death which the gods contrived for him, followed by the vision of the holy mendicant, his heart was filled with a great sorrow for mankind, and a great yearning to find deliverance for all men from this hideous chain of birth and rebirth with its attendant suffering. At this point the gods arranged that he should awake one night and behold the ladies of his palace in the repellent abandon of satiated sleep—a scene which is also represented in Gandhāra art, sometimes in a very realistic way. This decides the question for Siddhārtha. He arises from his couch and flees, the gates of the closely guarded palace being mira-

culously opened for him by the gods. In the sculptures representing this flight from Kapilavastu, the young prince is shown mounted on his faithful horse Kaṇṭhaka with the groom Chandaka in attendance. That no noise may occur to alarm the guards, the horse's feet are upheld by Yakshas, a sort of gnome in Buddhist story, while in some compositions the Evil Spirit, Māra, bow in hand, is shown pleading with the prince to abandon his intentions, for which purpose he offers him the sovereignty of the world, as in the Temptation in Christian story. The female figure on the right in No. 572 is the City Goddess, or *Nagara-devatā* of Kapilavastu—a conception traceable directly to Hellenistic art. (33-L, 134, 154-A, 343, 345, 457, 572, 784, 1265, 1267, 1377, 1718, 1774, 1882, 1907, 1908, 1914.)

14. The cutting of the hair.—There is no sculpture in this Museum, nor indeed any sculpture so far known in Gandhāra, which illustrates this incident in the Buddha story. But the legend may be mentioned here with propriety as explanatory of sculpture No. 163. The Bodhisattva, having fled a certain distance from the royal capital, dismounted from his horse and prepared to send it back to the city. He felt it necessary to abandon also his princely dress and jewels. How these were given to the groom, and an exchange of garments effected with a hunter who chanced to appear at that moment, wearing a cloth of that reddish yellow colour associated even to-day in India with mendicants we need not detail here as none of these incidents are as yet included in this collection. The cutting of the hair, however, is more important. All the texts agree that he drew his sword with his right hand, seized his long locks with his left, and cut them completely off with one stroke.[1] The Bodhisattva, then cast both hair

[1] Despite this the Gandhāra Buddha is never depicted with shaven head although his monks are so represented. This seems to indicate that the Buddha image is due to artists better acquainted with the gods of Olympus than Buddhist texts and more careful of aesthetics than of orthodoxy.

and turban into the air where they were seized by the deities of the Trayastriṁśa Heaven, who bore them off to their own abode as objects of worship. It is the royal turban, worshipped of the gods, which appears on Nos. 163 and 437. (163, 437.)

15. Farewells of Kaṇṭhaka and Chandaka.—Among the Seven Jewels which are naturally possessed by all Universal Monarchs and therefore by all Buddhas, three are especially important, to wit the "Jewel of Women", the "Jewel of Horses", and the "Jewel of Pariṇāyakas". In the case of a Universal Monarch this word *pariṇāyaka* is interpreted to mean "leader of an army". In the Buddha story, however, it means nothing more than leader of the horse afore-mentioned. The three jewels in the case of Gautama, therefore, are: Yaśodharā his wife, Kaṇṭhaka his horse, and Chandaka his groom; and the fact that the two latter at least were born simultaneously with Siddhārtha himself is quaintly called to mind by sculptures of the infant colt and the infant groom, now in the Calcutta and Lahore Museums. The touching closeness of relation between Siddhārtha and his horse is thus established, and it is not surprising that even the latter was deeply moved when the moment came for Chandaka to lead him back to the city, leaving the young prince to wander alone as a humble mendicant. The incident, which is perhaps as human and touching as any in eastern story, is depicted in sculpture No. 354. According to the *Buddhacharita*, the grief-stricken horse is kissing his master's feet and bathing them in tears. The sorrowing groom stands near by, holding the princely jewels which Siddhārtha has just entrusted to him. (354.)

16. The six years of austerities.—The Peshawar Museum is fortunate in having a sculpture representing this period of Siddhārtha's life, as, apart from bas-reliefs, only one other image of the emaciated Buddha is known. The event illustrated by this sculpture, No. 799, Pl. 3,

has been already referred to in the Introduction. (799, 1413, 1841, 1911, 1912, 1913.)

17. Hymn of the Nāgā Kālika.—After subjecting his flesh for six years to all the austerities prescribed by Hindu ascetism, the Bodhisattva lost faith in these methods, and to the disgust of the five disciples who had attached themselves to him, partook of food and proceeded to enter on a more rational course of contemplation. Having refreshed himself and recovered from the rigours of his previous penances, he is said to have removed from that place toward a certain *pipal* tree, the tree under which the Truth was destined to be manifested to him. For this reason it is now known as the Bodhi-tree, and what is said to be a descendant of it is still worshipped at Bodh-gaya. In his progress toward this spot it so chanced that he passed the abode of Kālika, the king of the Nāgas. Perceiving the effulgence of the Master's body, Kālika and his wife Suvarṇaprabhāsā issued forth, and after uttering a hymn of praise, pronounced the prophecy of his approaching Enlightenment. As is usual in the representation of these serpent deities, the Nāga and his wife are shown in the sculpture with the lower portion of their bodies concealed by a railing, which is understood to surround the tank in which they lived. They are further distinguished from ordinary mortals by the cobra's hood or hoods which rise from behind the neck and arch over, sometimes quite covering the head. (455, 792, 1887.)

18. The approach to the Bodhi-seat.—After receiving the prediction of the Nāga Kālika the Bodhisattva continues his march to the Bodhi-tree. On the way he meets a grass cutter named Svastika who presents him with a bundle of soft, green grass. It is this which he accepts in the scenes on the right of Nos. 1723, 1840, and later strews on the Bodhi-seat. In No. 787 we see the seat prepared and the expectant Earth goddess is depict-

ed *à mi-corps* before the throne. The amorous couple to the left appear to be Māra and his daughter. (787, upper panel, 792, 1723, 1840, 1884.)

The identification of the male figure arising from the throne is uncertain. It does not appear to be the spirit of the Bodhi-tree such as is seen in the *pipal* foliage of No. 1884 but seems to correspond to the naked figure with bow seen in No. 1884 and to the kneeling figure of No. 1840.

19. The Temptation.—The attainment of Supreme Enlightenment on the part of a Buddha is manifestly a psychological experience of which sculptural representation is impossible. The importance of the event to the whole Buddhist world, however, was such that sculptures, which should at least call it to mind, were imperatively demanded, and these artists had to supply. To do so, they had recourse to that incident which was most closely associated with the Enlightenment in time, namely the Temptation of Gautama by the Evil Spirit, Māra, for just before the supreme moment, as the Bodhisattva sat beneath the Bodhi-tree, Māra fearful lest the Buddha might accomplish his ends and thus not only save himself but open up the path of salvation for countless others, approached him and tried to persuade him to give up the quest. He is said to have tempted him with the lust of power, and the lust of pleasure, commanding his own daughters to disport themselves before him, *cf.* No. 353; but the Bodhisattva rose superior to his wiles. Thereupon Māra summoned his demons and made a furious and appalling assault upon Gautama, seeking to dislodge him from the seat. But Gautama merely touched his right hand to the ground and called upon the Earth goddess to bear witness to his right to remain where he was, by virtue of his acts in previous existences, *cf.* No. 1844, Pl. 6(A), and ultimately the hosts of Māra the Evil One were forced to retire discomfited. It was in the course of the succeeding night that the moment of

supreme Enlightenment ensued, and Siddhārtha passed from the state of being a Bodhisattva to full and perfect Buddhahood. (128, 343 (?), 352, 353, 355, 1232, 1723, 1844, 1904.)

20. The offering of the four bowls.—Some time after the Enlightenment, the Buddha—we may now call him so for the first time—arose from the Bodhi-seat and betook himself to a neighbouring grove, where he fell into an ecstatic trance which lasted for seven weeks, while he "enjoyed the beatitude of Deliverance". At the end of this period the Guardians of the Four Quarters, realizing that the trance was at an end and that he would be in sore need of food after this prolonged fast, approached his seat, each with a golden bowl, for they knew that, having no begging bowl, he could not receive the food that the gods were contriving for him. But the Buddha refused to accept the golden bowls, as they were of precious materials and unsuited for a religious mendicant. The guardians then offered a whole series of other bowls of less and less valuable materials. All were refused, until they offered four bowls of stone. These he could accept, but in order that no one of the Guardians of the Quarters should be honoured by the acceptance of his bowl to the sorrow and chagrin of the remaining three, he was pleased to accept all four, which were straightway moulded into one by his miraculous power.[1] In No. 1545 we see the four Lokapālas, from one of whom the Buddha has already accepted a bowl. (437-M, 1545, 1922, 1934.)

Parallel groovings appear on the bowls of Buddha images to mark the four-fold origin. *Cf.* No. 208 and the alms bowls in the Table Cases.

It is of interest to note, furthermore, that the Buddha's Begging Bowl represented on sculpture No. 171-A is supposed to have been preserved in Peshawar, at what

[1] A small steatite plaque No. 437-M depicting this scene will be found in Case B but is not of the Gandhāra school.

was called the Pātrachaitya or Hall of the Bowl. This, as M. Foucher has shown, stood originally at the place now known as Panjtirath, where are the modern Hindu burning grounds.

21. The offering of the two merchants.—On the pedestal of the Emaciated Gautama from Takht-i-Bāhī, No. 799, is the only representation so far found in Gandhāra of the story of the two merchants. When the time arrived for the Buddha to wake from his seven weeks' trance after the Enlightenment, a caravan of merchants happened to approach the grove wherein he sat. This was the caravan of the merchants Trapusha and Bhallika of Orissa, who being cautious men had placed two bullocks at the head of the caravan to go on before and give warning of approaching danger. On nearing the grove these bullocks suddenly showed signs of fear, and refused to advance. Nay, they even lay down, while the other bullocks also stopped and paid no heed to the blows of their drivers. It was even found that the wheels of the wagons had become mysteriously fixed. At this juncture a stranger, the Genius of the grove in bodily form, appeared before the terrified merchants and told them of the Buddha's presence and his need of food. Thereupon they approached his seat under the spirit's guidance and made him offerings of honeycomb and wheat, which he received in the four-fold bowl he had just accepted from the Guardians of the Heavenly Quarters. The accuracy with which the story is told on this pedestal is remarkable. Every detail of the legend is faithfully and cleverly depicted. (Pedestal of No. 799.)

22. The first sermon.—The time had now come for the Buddha to enter actively on his ministry. Mention has already been made of the five disciples who attaching themselves to him during his asceticism deserted him in disgust when abandoning his austerities he struck out a path for himself. These erstwhile disciples, on leaving

him, had betaken themselves to the famous Mṛigadāva or Deer Park at Sārnāth, near Benares. The Buddha, therefore, having decided to address himself first to them, proceeded to Benares, and it was in the Deer Park that he preached the First Sermon, or for the first time "Turned the Wheel of the Law", as the event is described by Buddhists. In the older school of Indian sculpture, where the figure of the Buddha is never depicted, the incident can only be represented symbolically, and the symbol chosen is naturally the wheel. Such symbolical representations also occur in Gandhāra, but usually the Buddha is himself shown in the sculptures of this school, seated in the midst of the famous "Monks of the Band of Five", as they are called. The symbolism has not disappeared, however, for in almost all cases the sacred wheel is shown, usually on the front of the Teacher's Seat, and sometimes in connection with the trident or *triśūla* representing the three jewels of Buddhism, namely, the Buddha, the Doctrine and the Community of Monks, for it was on this occasion that the third jewel, the monastic order, came into being. The deer reclining on either side of these symbols serve to remind the spectator of the Mṛigadāva, the place where the sermon was delivered. *Cf.* No. 1844, Pl. 6(B). (129, 145 (?), 349, 455, 760, 762, 767, 772, 773, 786, 812, 920-M, 1250, 1252, 1781, 1844-B.)

23. Conversion of Kāśyapa.—Kāśyapa of Uruvilvā was the eldest of three brothers, all famous Hindu ascetics, who dwelt with a vast multitude of disciples on the bank of a river near the place where the Buddha had himself practised austerities. After beginning his ministry at Benares he betook himself to Kāśyapa's hermitage, intending to convert him and all his followers. But this proved no easy task, and the Buddha was obliged to have recourse to some five hundred miracles to effect his purpose. One of these was the Victory over the Serpent, which is represented in the sculptures mentioned at the end of this paragraph. In one corner of the

hermitage, so the story runs, was a fire temple in which dwelt a particularly venomous serpent. The Brahmans were so terrified of this monster, that they had abandoned the temple altogether and no one dared to approach it. To impress them with his transcendental powers, the Buddha craved permission to occupy this building. Kāśyapa, of course, refused, thinking that the Master would certainly lose his life, but was forced to yield finally to the Buddha although warning him that it meant certain death. He, however, calmly entered the place and took his seat. The details of the legend vary slightly, but for our purpose it suffices to say that, as soon as the Buddha had seated himself, his body began to emit so dazzling an effulgence that the terrible serpent was overawed, until laying aside his anger, he crept meekly into the Buddha's begging bowl. *Cf.* Nos. 1373, 1378, etc. The Brahmans meanwhile, having seen the extraordinary light issuing from the temple, concluded that the place was on fire, and hastened thither with jars of water to extinguish the supposed conflagration. Sculpture No. 136 shows them mounting on ladders for the purpose. (136, 146, 149, 768, 769, 790, 1373, 1376, 1378, 1451, 1549, 1577, 1710, 1842, 1851, 1890.)

It is satisfactory to observe that in the end the Buddha's heroic efforts were crowned with success, and the whole community of the Kāśyapas joined the newly founded church.

For some unknown reason this legend appears to have enjoyed exceptional local popularity and the Museum possesses no less than fifteen reliefs or statuettes dealing with the conquest of the snake, besides sixteen fragments undoubtedly from these or similar representations, including four small detached hands holding an almsbowl in which the snake lies coiled. *Cf.* Nos. 84-M, 742-M, 820-M, 1056.

24. The ordination of Nanda.—One of the most extraordinary legends in Buddhist story is that of the

conversion of Nanda, a half-brother of the Buddha. The latter is said to have led him away from his well-beloved wife by the device of giving him his bowl to carry and refusing to retake it until they reached the monastery, where the young man was promptly shaved and ordained as a monk, despite all his protestations. *Cf.* No. 1892. Thereafter he was to all intents and purposes a prisoner, and his various attempts to escape are recounted by the texts. One of these is illustrated by sculpture No. 152. (152, 1892.)

Once while the Buddha was abroad, Nanda contrived to steal out of the monastery and began to make his way stealthily through the surrounding grove of trees. But the Buddha, although at a great distance from the spot, perceived what was taking place, and flying rapidly through the air, alighted some little distance in front of the fugitive. Seeing the Master approach, the wretched youth hid quickly behind a tree, but lo! as the Buddha drew near, the tree was suddenly raised bodily into the air, disclosing the unfortunate Nanda to his gaze. Needless to say, the young man was straightway marched back to the monastery.

There may be a moral to this story, but it must be acknowledged that it is somewhat obscure. Is it being too charitable to imagine that the legend is meant to portray the almost overweening love and pity of the Buddha, who to save humanity was cruel to be kind? This interpretation would be easier, though, could we see in Nanda any special need for the salvation forced upon him. But no such need is apparent, and as the story stands, he figures rather as a martyr to the cause.

25. Visit of Indra.—Once while the Buddha was meditating in a solitary grotto on a hilltop in Magadha, the desire arose in Indra to visit him, and he accordingly despatched his harpist, Pañchaśikha, to announce his arrival. The sculpture from Takht-i-Bāhī representing this scene, No. 787, shows the Buddha seated within

the cave. The little lions beneath the seat, as well as the other animals in the back-ground, indicate both the wildness of the site and the peace which the Buddha's presence caused to fall upon all creatures. The harpist in No. 787 is shown at the (proper) right of the grotto, while the kneeling figure at the Buddha's left is Indra himself, distinguished in Gandhāra sculpture by his peculiarly high headdress. (787, central panel, 1909, 1942, 1944.)

26. Conversion of the Yaksha Āṭavika.—The story goes that a certain king of Āṭavi, in order to save his own life, had promised the *Yaksha* Āṭavika, living in a neighbouring forest, to give him one of his subjects daily. The pact had been duly kept, and one by one the wretched inhabitants had been handed over to the ogre, until there was no one left to sacrifice except the young son of the king, and orders were accordingly issued to have him led away to the monster. But at this juncture the Buddha, whose sympathy appears to have been somewhat tardy in this case, betook himself to the ogre's abode, and finding him absent, forced his way in and seated himself on the throne. The *yaksha's* fury on discovering him there can be imagined, but was utterly futile, and the conclusion of the whole matter was the conversion of the demon. Thus, when the attendants arrived with the young prince, the *yaksha*, instead of devouring him, lifted him up in his arms before the Buddha and made obeisance. This is the moment depicted in sculpture No. 471. (471.)

27. The offering of the handful of dust.—It was a daily custom of the Buddha, who enjoined the same upon his monks, to wander abroad at a certain hour in quest of food, as the whole Order were dependent for their sustenance upon the voluntary offerings of the pious. Once, as the Buddha was going along with his begging bowl, held out before him, he met two little boys playing in the road. One was suddenly moved to make

an offering, but having nought else to offer reached up to the bowl and dropped into it a generous handful of dust. The Buddha was touched by this childish act of piety, and some authorities assert he prophesied that the boy would become a mighty Buddhist monarch in some future life. In this way it is sought to identify the child in this legend with the great Aśoka. This probably explains the frequency with which the scene was sculptured. His companion is said to have become a Minister during Aśoka's reign. (150, 344, 433, 671, 759, 1554, 1708, 1776.)

28. The white dog which barked at the Buddha. —Once, while in the country of Śrāvastī (the modern Saheth-Maheth in the United Provinces), the Buddha went to visit a certain man named Śuka, who was not at home when he arrived. Now it so happened that Śuka had a white dog, which at the moment of his entrance, was eating out of a dish on the top of a couch. For some reason the sight of the Buddha enraged the dog mightily, and he barked in fury. The Buddha remonstrated, and told him that he had fallen into that estate because he had been so rich. Thereupon the dog deeply mortified, crept away to a far corner. Śuka, returning, found the dog in this abject condition and asked what had happened. When he heard the story he hastened to the Buddha to demand an explanation. But the latter suavely informed Śuka that the dog was his own departed father come back to life in canine form, and bade him, as a test, demand of the dog where he had buried his treasure previous to his death. The bewildered Śuka did as he was told and to his astonishment the dog crawled under the couch and began to dig. When the place was opened up, the treasure was disclosed and the truth of the Buddha's words demonstrated. (35-L, 794, 1417.)

29. The submission of the Nāga Apalāla.—Apalāla was a Nāga-rāja, inhabiting the source of the Swat River,

north of the modern Peshawar District. Periodically, for his own ends, he used to flood the country, causing the inhabitants endless suffering. The compassionate Buddha therefore betook himself to the Nāga's abode. His attendant, Vajrapāṇi, smote the mountain side with his mighty *vajra*, and so terrified the Nāga-rāja, that he issued forth from his pool and submitted himself to the Buddha, who preached the Good Law to him. He was converted and promised to desist from ruining the country, but he pointed out to the Buddha that his own nourishment depended upon these floods, as without them he could not get the grain upon which he lived, and so he was allowed to flood the land once every twelve years. That is why floods occur in the Swat Valley at intervals of just twelve years! *Cf.* No. 28-L, Pl. 5(*a*). (28-L, 336, 428.)

30. Conversion of Aṅgulimāla.—Ahiṅgsaka, the son of a Brahman of Kosala, was sent by his parents to the University of Taxila where excelling the other pupils he excited their envy. Determined to injure him they went secretly to his professor, and accused Ahiṅgsaka of taking improper liberties with his wife. The professor was not inclined at first to believe the accusation, but his excited suspicions appeared to receive confirmation on seeing that his wife spoke kindly to Ahiṅgsaka, and he determined to compass his pupil's destruction. As this could not be done openly he informed Ahiṅgsaka that it would not be in his power to instruct him further unless he destroyed a thousand persons and brought their fingers to him as evidence of their death. Ahiṅgsaka replied that it was not customary in his family to do evil to others, but seeing no other way of prosecuting his studies he resolved, because of his love of learning, to carry out his professor's orders. Going into a forest where certain paths met he began to murder all who passed. As he cut off and wore the fingers of his victims ho received the name of *Aṅgulimāla.* (158, 816-A, 1371.)

When he had murdered nine hundred and ninety-nine persons his mother, hearing that the ferocious robber was her son, immediately went to see him and remonstrate with him. He was about to kill her to complete his tale of victims when the Buddha, who recognised that Aṅgulimāla had, from merit acquired in previous births, sufficient virtue to enable him to enter the priesthood, set out to convert him. He arrived just in time and, needless to say, succeeded in his mission.

In No. 1371 on the right is seen Aṅgulimāla with his headdress of fingers preparing to slay his mother, then on the left, having released her, he attacks with vigour the Buddha whose gentle words, however, have such effect that the robber throws himself at the feet of the Blessed One. His cruel sword and hateful coronet straightway fall from him and are displayed on the lower edge of the panel.

Two scenes of this drama are also represented in relief No. 816-A.

31. The nursling of the dead woman.—A certain king's senior wives being jealous of the beautiful youngest wife, who was with child, bribed the palace Brahman to inform the king that not only was the young wife herself ill-omened but also that the child born of her would cause the destruction of both the king and his kingdom. To escape these threatened calamities and at the same time to avoid shedding blood, the king immured her alive in a tomb. However, owing to the merit acquired by her and her unborn child in former births she, after death, was not only delivered of a living son but was able miraculously to suckle him. For three years this child Sudāya remained within the tomb, until the crumbling of the wall enabled him to free himself. For three more years Sudāya lived in the jungle with the birds and wild beasts as his only companions, sheltering each night in the tomb. (1885.)

The Buddha filled with compassion for the child, visited the spot and Sudāya despite his tender years became a monk and later converted his father.

In the relief No. 1885 is seen the tomb with open front whence projects the upper part of the body of the dead woman, her left side being depicted as almost a skeleton whereas the right breast is represented round and full as if that of a living woman. The naked little child standing with his back to the tomb is Sudāya, his clasped hands expressing his adoration of the Buddha who advances towards him followed by a youthful Vajrapāni.

32. The miracle of Śrāvastī.—One of the acts obligatory upon a Buddha is the confounding of the heretics by the display of miraculous power. This in the case of Gautama Buddha was performed at Śrāvastī in the presence of King Prasenajit and of a vast concourse of people. It consisted firstly in a double miracle of walking in the air while emitting alternately flames and waves from the upper and lower parts of his body, and secondly, in multiplying images of himself up to the heavens and in all directions while he preached the law. (85-L, 108, 158, 171, 280, 374, 375, 503, 847, 848, 1270, 1361, 1412, 1527, 1528, 1553, 1554, 1727, 1729, 1730, 1731, 1732, 1733, 1735, 1736, 1738.)

Representations of this double miracle of fire and water are exceedingly rare in Gandhāra but a recent acquisition, No. 85-L, shows the Buddha in the air with streams of water beneath his feet while flames issue from his shoulders.

In contrast with the rarity of this scene of the double miracle are the numerous representations of the second exhibition of Buddha's power. According to one text, "Brahmā takes a place at his right and Indra at his left while the two *nāga* kings, Nanda and Upananda, create a wonderful lotus on the corolla of which the Blessed One seats himself. Then by the force of his

magic power above this lotus he created another and on this one also a Buddha was seated with his legs crossed and thus in front, behind, at the sides.....".

Representation of this act of the Miracle of Śrāvastī appears to have met with popular approval and the Museum possesses more than twenty reliefs illustrating this legend, Pl. 2(*a*). In its simplest form we see the Buddha in the *preaching attitude* seated on a lotus between Indra and Brahmā with a standing Bodhisattva on either side and two smaller meditating Buddhas seated under ædiculæ on the upper edges of the relief. *Cf.* Nos. 158, 171. Later the scene transforms itself into a kind of transfiguration where we see the Buddha in the midst of Bodhisattvas, *nāgas*, and Buddhas and other attendant figures while legendary scenes and even stūpas are added, so that the composition becomes a very epitome as it were of the repertory of the school. *Cf.* No. 1554.

33. Mākandika offers his daughter to Buddha.—A wandering ascetic Mākandika overcome by the Buddha's personal beauty offers to him his beautiful daughter Anupamā. As the Museum contains several representations of this scene the legend appears to have been a popular one, the self-control of the Buddha in refusing so charming a girl proving no doubt most edifying to the faithful. Mākandika turning towards the Buddha holds the shrinking and embarrassed Anupamā by his left hand, his right holding aloft the water pot, indicative of his intended gift. (133, 802, 806, 1922.)

34. The invitation of Śrīgupta.—Śrīgupta, a wealthy householder of Rājagṛiha and the follower of a heretical teacher named Puraṇa, wishing to destroy the Buddha and his monks, invites him to his house to partake of a meal. In the courtyard of the house he digs a ditch, fills it with burning charcoal and conceals this under a light covering and also poisons the food. The Buddha knowing Śrīgupta's evil intent, but realizing he can be converted to the right path accepts the invitation. By

the power of the Buddha the fiery ditch becomes a tank of lotus flowers. Purana and his followers flee before this manifestation of superiority, Śrīgupta confesses his faults and becomes a follower of the Buddha, who further shows his power by rendering the poisoned food innocuous. In the fragmentary sculptures Nos. 82-L, 1079, 1849, we see lotus flowers supporting the feet of the Buddha and of his entourage as they advance towards the gateway of the house. (82-L, 770, 1079, 1849.)

35. The visit of the sixteen disciples of the Brahman ascetic Bāvarī.—To a Brahman ascetic named Bāvarī living on the banks of the Godāvarī came another Brahman demanding five hundred pieces of money. Not obtaining these he cursed Bāvarī saying "May thy head on the seventh day hence cleave into seven". A benevolent deity of the place comforts Bāvarī who at his suggestion sends his sixteen disciples to the Buddha then in a rock temple of Magadha. Each of the sixteen asks a question of the Buddha who resolves all their doubts. (238, 1151.)

36. Hāritī and Pāñchika.—Apart from images of Buddha and Bodhisattvas none are so frequently recovered by excavation in Gandhāra as those of Hāritī and her spouse Pāñchika. Hāritī, a demon of the *yaksha* class was in the habit of devouring the children of Rājagṛiha. To impress her with the enormity of her conduct, the Buddha hid under his almsbowl the most beloved of her five hundred offspring, and when the mother's heart was grieved pointed out to her how much more grieved were those who by her misdeeds had lost all their children. Thereupon she was immediately converted. I-tsing tells us that her image was found under the porch or in a corner of the refectory of all the Buddhist monasteries of India and that she was represented with a child in her arms and three or four around her knees. *Cf.* Nos. 241, 1416. This mode of representing her disguised so well the horror of her real nature that she was invoked

not only to cure sick children but also to bestow offspring. She thus became the goddess of fertility in all senses and that is why she is shown as in Nos. 78-M and 686-M with cornucopia. (76-L, 77-M, 78-M, 241, 282, 385, 686-M, 969-M, 1093, 1096, 1101, 1151, 1243, 1244, 1299, 1416, 1773, 1779, 1843.)

There can be no doubt that the male figure on Hāritī's right in No. 241, Pl. 7, and on whose left knee she so familiarly rests her right hand in Nos. 78-M, 686-M, if not her spouse must have at least been considered so by popular opinion. Formerly this figure was believed to be Kubera, the Guardian of the Northern quarter and the king of the *yakshas*, but in a text of the Chinese canon it is definitely stated "Hāritī is the wife of Pāñchika" and it is Pāñchika, the genius of riches and the general of Kubera that we see by the side of Hāritī in such sculptures as Nos. 78-M, 241, 686-M, 1093, 1299, 1416. His lance indicates his rank as *senāpati* in the army of Kubera, the purse marks him as the bestower of riches. In No. 78-M, the pedestal shows coins pouring from overturned vases and the feet of both Hāritī and Pāñchika rest on piles of coins in No. 686-M. *Cf.* No. 282.

As children and wealth are the commonest wishes of the human heart it is not surprising that the "Goddess of Fertility" and the "Genius of Riches" should have received the greater part of the devotion of the faithful laity and that images of the Tutelary Couple should be so abundant.

Later and more uncommon images of Hāritī are seen in No. 1773, Pl. 4(*b*), and in No. 1926.

37. Devadatta's attempts to kill the Buddha.— The Judas of Buddhist story is the Buddha's wicked cousin Devadatta. This cousin could never endure his kinsman's fame and success and is said to have done his utmost to ruin him at all stages of his career. He is even credited with having thrice attempted his life, once by hired assassins, *cf.* Nos. 1844-D, Pl. 6(D), 1850, again

by hurling a huge rock down upon him, *cf.* Nos. 1898, 1918, and finally by letting loose a furious elephant. This last attempt took place at Rājagṛiha, and the elephant is shown in most of the sculptures just entering the city gate. The attempt of course failed. The Buddha simply laid his hand on the elephant's forehead and all his fury left him. *Cf.* Nos. 145, 774, 1550, 1850, 1942. (145, 774, 1550, 1844-D, 1850, 1898.)

38. The visit of the Nāga Elāpatra.—A certain *bhikshu* in the time of the Buddha Kaśyapa destroyed an *elā* tree for which action he was born later as a *nāga* or water spirit named Elāpatra. In the time of the Buddha he inhabited a tank near Taxila and in order to learn when he could again receive human form and, by becoming a disciple, attain final deliverance decided to visit the Buddha then at Benares. Various accounts are given but one text states that extending his body from Taxila to Benares his head reached to the spot where the Buddha was while his tail was still in his palace ! Then he bent his head before the world-honoured one who said " Welcome Elāpatra ! It is long since I have seen you. Welcome Oh, Nāga Rāja." (1716.)

Another account says that using his magical power Elāpatra appeared first as a universal monarch, but when reprimanded by the Buddha resumed his serpent form.

In No. 1716 we see the Buddha seated as in the First Sermon with his five monks while before his throne is a polycephalous snake whose lengthy tail runs along the lower edge of the relief. Elāpatra also appears as an adoring, princely personage on the extreme left of the sculpture but his real condition is indicated by the cobra canopy over his head.

Hiuan-Tsang describes the tank of the Nāga-rāja Elāpatra as being 70 *li* north-west of Taxila and there is no doubt that its position is marked to-day by the tank of sacred fish at Hasan Abdal in the Sikh shrine

known as the Panja Sahib, an example of how sites remain sacred even when religions change.

39. Death of the Buddha.—The Death or Mahāparinirvāṇa of the Buddha is said to have taken place after a short illness at Kuśinagara, which some would identify with Kasia in the United Provinces, on the 13th of October 483 B.C. For the exact determination of this date we are indebted to the late Dr. Fleet. As indicated in the sculptures some of the Buddha's followers were present at his death bed. The number of these vary in the reliefs and only one need be mentioned here, namely, Ānanda, the beloved disciple, the fainting figure before the couch. Where royal figures are introduced, they represent the nobles of Kuśinagara, the so-called Malla chieftains. *Cf.* No. 1844, Pl. 6. In 975-M we have a very rare representation of the enshrouding of the Buddha. (27-L, 130, 437-M, 697-M, 775, 975-M, 1319, 1844-E, 1846, 1883.)

40. Cremation of the Buddha—Ānanda is said to have asked the Buddha what his wishes were in regard to the disposal of his body, and to have been instructed to leave the whole matter to the discretion of the leading laymen of the neighbourhood. Thus it came about that the noble Mallas were charged with the conduct of the funeral. The same ceremonies were observed as were performed at the death of a Universal Monarch. The body was enveloped in five hundred pieces of cloth, and placed in a coffin. This is variously described, but the most accepted tradition, is that it consisted of two large iron receptacles used for holding oil, and called in Sanskrit *taila-droṇī*. This preserved the ashes and saved them from becoming mixed with the remains of the fire itself, for the body was of course cremated. In the sculptures we see the blazing pyre and sometimes the attendants engaged in pouring water on the flames to extinguish them. (484, 697-M, 1319, 1901.)

41. Guarding and distribution of the Relics.—After the cremation the Relics were taken in charge by the Mallas, and subsequently divided into eight portions under the supervision of the Brahman Droṇa, then distributed among the eight communities whose claims the Mallas respected, and who built stūpas to enshrine them. Sculpture No. 484 represents the division into eight parts, while the guarding of the Relics previous to this subdivision is portrayed in No. 1319. (484, 1319, 1846, 1894.)

It may be added that not one of these eight original deposits has ever been found. It is believed, however, that most of the original deposits were collected in the 3rd Century B.C. by the Emperor Aśoka, who redivided them into a multitude of small portions and distributed them in stūpas throughout his dominions. It was probably from one of these later deposits of Aśoka that King Kanishka, in the second century of our era, obtained those fragments which he enshrined in Peshawar in a bronze relic casket and which were recovered by excavation in March 1909, by the late Dr. Spooner, Pl. 10. A plaster cast of this reliquary is exhibited in the Central Hall.[1]

42. The cult of the Relics.—That the Relics so carefully collected and protected became objects of worship, is nothing strange and calls for no explanation. The cult is represented by Nos. 165 and 449, etc. (164, 165, 166, 396, 449, 1356, 1387, 1435, 1725, 1901.)

[1] The casket bears inscriptions stating that it was made by Agesilaos, the superintendent of works at Kanishka's *vihāra* for the teachers of the Sarvāstivādin school, with the pious wish that the gift might redound to the welfare of all creatures.

CHAPTER III.

THE SCULPTURES.

Religious piety has in all ages impelled its votaries to dedicate to shrines and temples memorials of all kinds likely to advance their own merit or strengthen the faith of others. That which in contemporary Christian art expressed itself in frescoes and sculpture took in Gandhāra similar forms of which, however, only the more durable sculptures now remain.

Scattered throughout the museum and arranged for purposes of exhibition these give little indication of their original purpose. The friezes formerly adorned the faces of the smaller stūpas,[1] or the risers of staircases; the images were placed in chapels or in niches in the verandah walls of the monasteries, while the false niches, of which so many fragments have been recovered, were affixed to the domes of stūpas appearing like dormer windows. *Cf.* Nos. 633M, 1548, 1552. Modillion cornices separated or surmounted the friezes, and acanthus capitals were once part of Indo-Corinthian pilasters from the fronts of chapels, and only rarely from columns. Atlantes, lions and elephants were used to support cornices and the stone umbrellas formed the crowning members of stūpas.

In the later period stucco was used abundantly for the adornment of stūpas and walls generally and in this medium were executed not only endless Buddha and Bodhisattva figures but also legendary scenes, specimens of which appear in the collection. *Cf.* Cases 46 and 52.

[1] A stūpa of the Kushān period was a solid dome-like mass of masonry raised on a square or circular plinth and erected to enshrine relics of the Buddha, or of some Buddhist saint or to commemorate some specially sacred spot. In Burma a stūpa is commonly known as a *pagoda*, in Ceylon as a *dāgoba*, and in Nepal as a *chaitya*. *Cf.* photographs 1443, 1469 in the revolving case at the end of the gallery and No. 712 (Case 30) and No. 1846 (Case 77).

Excavation has made it plain that reliefs and images so multiplied that finally they invaded every corner of the monasteries and when courtyards and chapels could no longer contain them they displaced even the monks from their cells![1]

Entrance Hall.—The sculptures exhibited in the Entrance Hall are principally from excavations at Sahri-bahlol and Takht-i-Bāhī; but the four-armed Hāritī, No. 1926, is from the hamlet Harichand in the Charsada Tahsil and the large standing Buddha, No. 1939, from the village of Lahore, the ancient Śalātura, the birth-place of Pāṇini. The two magnificent Buddha images, Nos. 1446 and 1447, flanking the arch were recovered at Sahribahlol in 1909-10. The drapery, elongated lobes of the ears and the so-called webbing[2] between the fingers are all worthy of attention. Unexpected features in No. 1447 are the light moustache and the indication of the pupil of the eye. The hole in the forehead indicates the position of the jewel which formerly marked the *urṇa*. With these colossal images may be contrasted the delicately featured Buddha No. 239, the *urṇa* here being indicated by a raised, mole-like projection. The elaborate coiffure of No. 1157, long curly locks bound with a fillet of pearls, seems to indicate the Bodhisattva Maitreya, the coming Buddha. The standing Buddha with the begging bowl, No. 1163, was found at Takht-i-Bāhī along with No. 1164, the larger figure beside it. When complete, the bowl of the former exhibited the grooving to which reference is made in paragraph 20 of the Introduction.

Sahribahlol also yielded No. 242, the headless Bodhisattva in the right hand passage. This is interesting not

[1] Marshall—*Guide to Taxila, p. 110, Pl. XXIII.*

[2] The fingers are not entirely separated only the last joints being free. In all probability this originally was merely a technical expedient to strengthen the fingers but later appears to have been misunderstood and was taken to be one of the physical characteristics of a Buddha like the *urṇa* (Introd. 7). The sculptors themselves sometimes depict this "webbing" even where technical reasons scarcely demand it, as in 820 M. (Case L.)

only for its general excellence but more particularly for its drapery and the manner in which the upper shawl-like garment covers but at the same time reveals the outline of the jewelled armlet on the upper left arm. The precise form of this armlet is shown on the bare right arm. With this image should be compared the headless Bodhisattva figure, No. 1444, with the hands in *dharmachakra-mudrā* and the feet, crossed at the ankles, resting on a small foot-stool. The large Buddha torso, No. 240, and the larger standing Buddha, No. 239, both from Sahribahlol, are among the best sculptures in the Museum. In both cases the drapery and hair are excellently rendered. The quietude and abstraction of the expression are in marked contrast to the vacancy or smug satisfaction which characterises some of the later images, as Nos. 1876, 1440, 87 L, but the headless goddess, No. 1926, by the stairs on the left side, surpasses them both in interest and is remarkable for its non-Indian costume and for the fact that it has four arms, in which respect it differs from all the statues in the Museum save No. 1773. There can be no doubt that this is intended for a figure of Hāritī (Introd. 36). The colossal stucco Buddha head, No. 1910, was recovered in 1911-12 at Takht-i-Bāhī and traces of the feet of the image are still preserved there *in situ*. In all these colossal figures the modelling tends to coarseness in marked contrast with Nos. 239 and 240.

Central Hall.—In the Hall the sculptures are placed not only in Wall Cases described in detail below but in three Table Cases L, M, N, against the walls and piers of the side galleries and in the window openings. To the right of the door is No. 241, the Tutelary Couple, one of the best preserved reliefs in the Museum (Introd. 36), Pl. 7. Though not of the best period the drapery and the little *yakshas* on the pedestal still show some spontaneity, and considerable technical skill is displayed in the modelling of the half averted faces of the protagonists.

The opulent charms of the Goddess of Fertility find their appropriate counterpart in the corpulence of Pāñchika and the couple are the very embodiment of material prosperity and accommodating benevolence.

Close to this is the fine relief No. 1944, depicting the Buddha seated in meditation in a cave, receiving the adoration of some divine or royal personages.[1] Of particular interest is the dated Kharoshṭhī inscription on the pedestal recording that in the year 89 a Buddhist monk named Dharmapriya dedicated this sculpture in honour of his teacher Buddhapriya and others for the bestowal of health on his brothers. This date corresponds to 216 A.D. or, according to the more orthodox view, 166 A.D. From the modelling of the Buddha's face, and the treatment of the hair and drapery it is plain that this relief must be assigned to a period when the school was in its full vigour, and is proof that long after the time of Kanishka the artists of Gandhāra could, at least in stone, execute works of considerable merit and employ with peculiar appropriateness a great part of the repertory of the school. Although the Buddha, Pāñchika, Vajrapāṇi and the princely visitors are all conventionalized, skilful composition and the greatest technical skill are still displayed, and it is impossible to deny the charm and fidelity with which the artist has depicted the trees, birds and beasts of the Buddha's sylvan retreat.

Buddha Images.—Standing against the walls and piers of the side galleries of the Hall is an unrivalled collection of Gandhāra images. These, with one exception,[2] are of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas. The former are placed in the right hand gallery or on stands in the Hall, the latter in the left hand gallery. The monotonous sameness of Buddha images is often remarked but a careful examination of the Peshawar figures reveals

[1] The relief appears to depict the Visit of Indra (Introd. 25), the harpist on the left being Pañchaśikha and the kneeling elephant Airāvata.

[2] No. 1427, the image of a royal female.

great diversity. From the nature of the case the garments are invariable and the canonical postures are limited, but the treatment of the hair, the features and drapery bear witness to the versatility of the sculptors as well as to the gradual decay of the school. The commonest treatment of the hair is a naturalistic one, light wavy strands over the high *ushnīsha*. Examples of this will be seen in Nos. 1439, 1921, 1008, 1928, 1429, 1601, 1880, 506. In No. 1921 the artist, untrammelled by tradition, has ventured to bind the base of the *ushnīsha* by a jewelled band, in No. 1008 the *ushnīsha* is markedly unobtrusive. A less naturalistic but still pleasing treatment of the hair is seen in Nos. 1430, Pl. 9(*a*), 1424, 1425 where the *ushnīsha* is treated schematically in little loose curls. A later treatment destined to achieve world-wide popularity in later Buddhist art is seen in Nos. 1877, 1431, 1878 and 1448, where the whole head is covered by little snail-shell-like curls. In No. 1431 these, in keeping with the canon, turn to the right, but in Nos. 1878 and 1448 the artist has been more careless or less orthodox. But the greatest conventionality and decadence are seen in Nos. 1871 and 1875 where meaningless crescents cover the head. These two images found within a few miles of each other possibly came from the same atelier.

The faces exhibit no less variety than the hair and bear witness to the varying skill of the artists. The serenity and charm of No. 1928 are thoroughly in keeping with the character of the Buddha. Nos. 1439, 1921 while still artistic masterpieces exhibit that tendency towards heaviness common to all the colossal images. *Cf.* Nos. 1446, 1447. Nos. 1429, 1449, 207 are products of the school at its best but Nos. 1452, 1880, 1877, 1878 mark a decline towards that final decadence to which Nos. 1440 and 87 L are the pathetic witnesses.

The majority of the seated figures are in the preaching attitude, but Nos. 1928, 1008, 1597, 1440, 1436 are shown in meditation and one late statue, 87 L, in the reassuring

attitude *abhayamudrā*, in which posture were formerly all the standing Buddha images in this gallery.

The pedestals are of great interest and the *simhāsana* and reliefs worthy of study. Most of them depict donors adoring Buddhas, Bodhisattvas or cult objects, but on No. 238 the story of the Sixteen Brahman Ascetics (Introd. 35) is most graphically and artistically treated.

Usually the haloes are plain but on that of No. 238 can still be seen an adoring Indra and No. 1424 is ornamented with a narrow foliated band, close to and parallel to the edge.

Image of Royal Female. But the most remarkable figure in this gallery is No. 1427, a royal female bearing a small shrine, Pl. 9(*b*). The face is broad and flat and the chin somewhat heavy. Above a jewelled fillet the hair is dressed high in waves, but below the fillet in little schematic curls one of which falls in front of either ear. The ears resemble those of Buddha and Bodhisattva images, though the elongated lobes are missing. A roughly cut dowel in the centre of the fillet seems to mark the position of a lost ornament, possibly a medallion resembling No. 221.

The figure is clad in a short-sleeved robe falling to the feet. This is close fitting above the waist and apparently of some light and diaphanous fabric but judging from the drapery the skirt is of heavier material. A scarf hanging on the left side passing round the left upper arm and across the back and caught up on the left forearm hangs in a graceful loop in front of the body.

Round the neck is a flat jewelled torque with a circular pendant. A long flexible chain, presumably of fine metal, passing over the left shoulder falls almost to the right ankle where the ends are joined by a jewel. Most of the right arm is lost but the left displays a broad armlet of nine parallel bands with edges of seeming pearls. A heavy bracelet adorns the wrist and rings are worn on

the thumb and two fingers of each hand. In the hands, fortunately preserved intact, is carried a small trefoil shrine which must formerly have held an image or reliquary. *Cf.* Nos. 1364, 1391.

Beneath the feet the Earth Goddess with outspread arms is seen rising *à mi corps* from acanthus foliage as though supporting the figure, which is probably that of a royal personage.

The feeble indication of the folds of the drapery above the waist by incised lines would appear to assign the image to a somewhat late date but the figure is redeemed from mediocrity by the modelling.

Although this is undoubtedly a lay personage all the conventions of the Buddha and Bodhisattva figures appear in the treatment of the hair, eyes, ears and chin, in the Praxitelean pose, the arrangement of the scarf and in the representation of the Earth Goddess. It seems unlikely, therefore, that any real attempt has been made at portraiture.

Whether a halo decorated this figure is uncertain but it is plain that something is missing on either side of the head.

Bodhisattva Images.—The Bodhisattva figures in the left gallery include some of the most striking productions of the artists of Gandhāra. Freed from the academic frigidity and restrictions of the Buddha image they were, in the case of these transcendent beings, able to give rein to their fancy and the sculptures bear witness to its exuberance in the treatment of the drapery, jewels and coiffure.

Unlike the Buddha who wears the three monastic robes the Bodhisattvas are clad in the two traditional Indian garments, but these are draped in a way which clearly betrays the hands of artists imbued with classic traditions. A short skirt tied by an ornamental cord, the ends of which fall in front of the body, covers the

lower limbs to the ankles. The archaistic and schematic treatment of the points of the garment, noticeably so in the standing figures Nos. 1872, 1866, Pl. 4(*c*), are features of special interest. A long shawl-like garment passes across the shoulders, is wrapped round the left upper arm, thrown behind and hangs by the left side. The other end usually falls in a graceful loop before the body and is upheld by the right arm. All the standing Bodhisattva images in this gallery wear sandals.

But it is in the jewels that the sculptors display their greatest ingenuity. Round the neck is usually a flat, jewelled torque, a flexible amulet carrier passes over the left shoulder and under the right arm, and a second thick flexible necklace hangs low on the chest culminating in front in the heads of two monsters contending for a jewel. Generally there is also another flexible necklace which passes over the left shoulder and right upper arm where it is prevented from slipping by a large flat armlet. This jewel-encrusted ornament is, on the left arm, covered by the upper garment but its outline is cunningly revealed beneath the tightly drawn cloth. Earrings, sometimes of elaborate form, as in Nos. 1428, 1438 and heavy bracelets invariably adorn these figures.

In the Maitreya images the hair, bound by a jewelled fillet and falling behind the shoulders in wavy locks is looped above in a manner reminiscent of the Apollo Belvedere. *Cf.* Nos. 1422, 1866, Pl. 4(*c*). In the case of the other Bodhisattvas the hair is almost entirely concealed by an elaborate headdress ornamented by jewelled dragons and other monsters as in No. 1438 or by a plaque displaying a seated Buddha as in No. 1867. Frequently a roughly cut wedge-shaped dowel in front of the headdress marks the former existence of a sculptured ornament such as No. 221 in Case 11 and Nos. 1099, 1137 in Case 44. An uncommon treatment of the coiffure is seen in the beautiful Bodhisattva head

No. 1879 where the hair falls to the shoulders in graceful curls.

The *urṇa* is usually a small raised projection but was formerly marked by a jewel in Nos. 1604, 1879, 1438.

Figures with looped hair and holding a flask in the left hand may with confidence be identified as the Bodhisattva Maitreya. No. 1438 with a purse or loop in the left hand is probably Avalokitēśvara, but for want of definite attributes the identification of Nos. 1869, 1605, 1600, 1435, 1925 remains somewhat doubtful.

Like the Buddha figures these Bodhisattvas exhibit varying degrees of excellence. Among the finest are Nos. 1868, Pl. 4(*c*), 1422, 1438, 1879, while Nos. 1867, 1866 seem to mark the school in its decline.

The pedestals of the standing Bodhisattva images commonly show Bodhisattvas with donors, but those which are seated exhibit more variety, Bodhisattvas in two cases being replaced by cult objects, Maitreya's flask in No. 1435 and an incense burner in No. 1870.

Table Case L.—Excavations at Sahribahlol and Takht-i-Bāhī yielded the small sculptures in this case. Elaborate compositions such as No. 1554 are the source of the fragments 812 M and 848 M, the latter being the front of a small *chaitya* or chapel. From Kāśyapa scenes come the alms bowl with snake, the Brahman ascetic Kāśyapa, 811 M, 820 M and the young Brahman 815 M. The hand with looped purse (?), 818 M, is seemingly from a figure of the Bodhisattva Avalokitēśvara while 849 M and 850 M are the left hands of Maitreya images. A lion fed by a little naked child, 822 M, is from the front of the *siṁhāsana* (lion throne) of a seated Buddha or Bodhisattva.

Attention may be drawn to the contrast between the stucco figures 804-808 M from Takht-i-Bāhī and the later and decadent ones with protuberant eyes, 840-1 M, 843 M and 876 M, recovered at Sahribahlol.

Table Case M.—In this case are miscellaneous sculptures of considerable interest from various sources. Multi-armed figures are rare in Gandhāra but 942 M so depicts Vishṇu while in 676 M we have a Śiva with six arms. Although these are Hindu deities the material and technique prove them to be of the later Gandhāra school. The six-armed polycephalic Śiva closely resembles the images on the reverse of certain coins of Huvishka. A goddess with goose, 941 M, is likewise seemingly a Hindu deity but probably still later in date. Two scenes from the Mahāparinirvāṇa are shown in 697 M, and the Marriage of the Bodhisattva and the Life in the Palace in 701 M. Pāñchika and Hāritī appear again in 686 M. The former not only carries a purse but, like his consort, rests his foot upon a heap of coins. A votive stūpa is seen in 633 M. The head 969 M is, from its wild expression, undoubtedly that of Pāñchika. With the stucco heads in this case should be compared those from Chinese Turkestan which clearly betray their indebtedness to the school of Gandhāra. Metal images of this school are uncommon but 695 M in copper repoussé is one of the rare examples. In 943 M (*a*), (*b*), (*c*) we have three fine specimens of stucco heads still preserving traces of their original colouring. The steatite plaque 715 M from Tordher is not without interest and has its counterpart in 113 M in Case B.

Table Case N. The fragmentary sculptures in this case were excavated at Sahribahlol and Shāh-jī-kī-dherī in 1910-11. In many cases, despite their fragmentary condition, it is still possible to state with some certainty the compositions of which they once formed part. The two right hands 740 M, 741 M are from small Bodhisattva figures, the snake in the alms bowl 742 M comes from a Kāśyapa scene such as No. 1373 or No. 1549, as does also 725 M. Some representation of the unidentified legend in No. 1844 (C) may have been the source of the figure with bowed head, 726 M, while the head of the Brahman ascetic, 728 M, is probably that of Kāśyapa,

though it could possibly have come from such a sculpture as No. 1373. From some forest scene as No. 1151 or No. 1944 comes the damaged peacock, 739 M, and the Bodhisattva, 723 M, seated in pensive attitude is from a composition of the nature of No. 1150. Pāñchika, 721 M, is from a representation of the Tutelary Couple. *Cf.* 241.

Want of space has made it necessary to exhibit sculptures in the four window recesses of the side galleries of the Central Hall.

Windows in Right Gallery.

1. Three friezes, Nos. 1421, 1423, 1426, recovered at Sahribahlol in 1909-10 seemingly illustrate one story. This has not been identified with certainty but may be that of the man who kicked his mother and was condemned in consequence to bear on his head a burning wheel. *Cf.* No. 1714.

2. A beautiful frieze, No. 1418, though classic in feeling betrays the country of its origin. The vine may be an importation but the seeming cupids are more probably *yakshas* and the animals are certainly Indian. For want of confirmative details it is impossible to recognise with certainty in No. 1432 a scene from the Viśvantara Jātaka, though this identification has been suggested.

3. No. 1904 shows two scenes, one Māra's Attack (Introd. 19), the other unique and unidentified where the Buddha appears to be addressing some mutilated persons. In the circular frieze No. 1899 are seen wrestling, archery on foot and on horseback, representations of the Bodhisattva's Martial Exercises (Introd. 9). Cupids and garlands appear in No. 1419, and a Buddha of the late period in 87 L. A unique figure, a haloed but seemingly lay personage bearing a bowl or lamp, is seen in 74 L.

4. The torso 76 L is from a relief of the Tutelary Couple such as No. 241. The head shows considerable individuality, the deep set eyes with marked pupils giving it a strong and virile appearance in keeping with Pāñchika's character as *senāpati*. No. 1937 is part of the acanthus capital of an Indo-Corinthian pilaster and No. 1928 is one of the most beautiful Buddha figures in the collection. In no other image in the Peshawar Museum has the artist so successfully realized the peace and serenity of Buddhahood.

Windows in Left Gallery.

1. Among the numerous reliefs in this window are two recovered at Jamalgarhi in 1921-22. No. 1885 shows two scenes in one panel, that to the left being one of the rare representations of The Nursling of the Dead Woman (Introd. 31), the other still awaiting identification. The companion relief, No. 1884, depicts The Approach to the Bodhi Tree (Introd. 18) with the tree goddess and Māra and his daughter clearly recognizable but the naked figure issuing from the throne remains unidentified.

2. Many of these reliefs are fragmentary but in No. 1887 is seen the Nāga Kālika (Introd. 17) and No. 1894 shows the guardians of the relics outside the gates of Kuśinārā (Introd. 41). The death of the Buddha appears in 1883 and several events in the Śyāma Jātaka (Introd. 2) are represented in No. 1891, Pl. 5(*b*). No. 1893 resembles in certain details the First Meditation of the Bodhisattva (Introd. 12) and may be so interpreted.

3. Several events anterior to the Enlightenment are seen in the reliefs in this window, the Martial Exercises and the Hurling of the Elephant in No. 1906 (Introd. 10), the Marriage of Bodhisattva in No. 1905 and the Flight from the Palace in Nos. 1907, 1908, while a scene from the later career of the Buddha appears in No. 1909, a representation of the Visit of Indra (Introd. 25).

4. No. 1881 is a small and smiling Bodhisattva and No. 1451, one of the many Kāśyapa scenes, while No. 1882, a small false niche, is devoted to events in the cycle of the Renunciation, (*a*) Life in the Palace, (*b*) The Sleep of the Women, (*c*) The Departure from Kapilavastu. In the last scene the horse Kaṇṭhaka is unusually well preserved and Māra clearly recognizable. In the Offering of the Four Bowls, No. 1934, which seems to be late in date, the Lōkapāla who has just handed his bowl to the Buddha is dressed in Kushān costume.

Case 1.—Case 1 contains a miscellaneous assortment of stucco fragments from Sahribahlol. The majority are heads, either of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas, Nos. 15 and 17 being especially noteworthy for the delicacy of their modelling and their apparent closeness to the Hellenistic prototype. But of greater interest is the headless figure of a warrior, No. 13, wearing a skirt of imbricated mail and bearing in his left hand a curiously shaped shield resembling the Boeotian shield of the Greeks. The lions originally formed part of the ornamentation of small stūpas and separated the superposed friezes precisely as do the elephants in Photographs 1443, 1469, exhibited in the revolving frame at the end of the upper gallery.

Table Case A.—Exhibited in this case are fragmentary stucco and stone sculptures from Sahribahlol, together with a few of the heavy nails with which the larger stone sculptures were originally held in position. The fragment 70 M is from a representation of the Dīpaṅkara Jātaka and 68 M, 79 M, 83 M, 84 M, 88 M are all details from Kāśyapa scenes. A Hāritī with cornucopia is seen in 77 M while she and her spouse Pāñchika appear together as the Tutelary Couple in 78 M. The base of this sculpture is worthy of attention as it depicts overlapping coins falling from overturned jars, an appropriate detail in representations of these deities of Abundance and Fertility.

Of the other miscellaneous objects the most interesting are two copper spoons, 103-4 M, found in the monastic quadrangle at Sahribahlol and a small fragment of a halo, 108 M, consisting of a thin stucco facing, on a stone backing, and preserving traces of the original brilliant colouring of its ornament of radiating golden rays on a bright red background. The plaster cast of one of the stucco friezes on a little stūpa recovered at Sahribahlol was taken as a precautionary measure and it is fortunate this was done as the ignorant and intolerant peasantry of the neighbourhood subsequently demolished every particle of ornamentation on this monument.

Cases 2-3.—In order to appreciate the historical position of the Gandhāra school and to ascertain precisely what it has contributed to Indian art, it becomes necessary to analyse the sculptures and to separate the archaic or indigenous elements from the newer importations or creations. An attempt has been made to do this in the classification of the sculptures in the upper galleries of the Museum, but it is obvious that such can be only partially successful. The majority of the sculptures are highly complex, and partake of the characteristics of, or at least show elements appertaining to both the new and the older periods. Sculptures of this kind which do not illustrate entirely either the one or the other, but which, on the other hand, do directly illustrate the life or the cult of the Buddha, have been classified, according to the subject represented, as either Legendary or Devotional, while single images of Bodhisattvas or of the Buddha have been collected into homogeneous groups. But, wherever the fragmentary nature of a given piece or its inherent simplicity has rendered such a classification practicable, it has been designated as either archaic or newly introduced.

In pursuance of this plan, therefore, those stone fragments from Sahribahlol which show artistic motifs found on Indian monuments older than the Gandhāra school have been grouped together in Cases 2-3. The

modillion cornice represented by fragments Nos. 39 and 44 is not itself such an archaic element, as such modillions appear in Indian art for the first time in Gandhāra, but the narrow line of sawtooth ornament above these modillions *is* an archaic element and explains the inclusion of these stones in this section. Nos. 40 and 41 show the ancient Buddhist rail device surmounted by merlons. Rails of this type were commonly built around stūpas in India proper and very highly decorated, as those will remember who have seen the beautiful rails of Amarāvati, but in Gandhāra they have been rarely found save as a decorative motif. *Cf.* Nos. 1780, 1784, 1790. Nos. 45, 46 and 47 are good examples of the Assyrian honeysuckle. This, although obviously of foreign origin, was a very early importation into India, and is accordingly included among archaic elements, although not itself indigenous. The idea of decorating windows, balconies and small arches with figures of parrots as seen in Nos. 37 and 49 is also very ancient. Fragment No. 56 shows an exceedingly common decorative device, kneeling figures under ogee arches separated by pilasters of Persepolitan type, where the capital is formed by animals reclining back to back and supporting the architrave. The elephants in Case 3, Nos. 79, 80 and 81, represented as kneeling, with upraised trunks, were placed originally in the same way as the lions' heads described in Case 1. A good idea of the ornamental effect of this device can be gathered from the plaster cast of the little stūpa frieze in Case A, but here the elephants are portrayed picking up sheaves of grain and not with uplifted trunks. No. 97 is an inferior example of a full blown lotus frieze, of which many beautiful specimens have been found elsewhere. The archaic bead and reel motif occurs on fragment No. 106, the stone being otherwise unadorned. No. 107 is a small piece of one of those stone umbrellas which were placed, one above another, over the dome of a stūpa to form the *hti*. For stūpas surmounted by umbrellas see Nos. 672 M, 1554, 1846, 1852.

Case 4.—Of all the new additions to Indian art due to the Graeco-Buddhist artists the most important is the figure of the Buddha himself, No. 121, and closely connected are the representations of the various Bodhisattvas, two of which are included in this case in order to emphasize the fact that their appearance in Indian art is due to the school of Gandhāra. A definitely foreign motif is seen in No. 109, which shows a very graceful scroll of vine leaves with bunches of grapes. Although at least one occurrence of a bunch of grapes is known in archaic Indian sculpture, the vine itself is not indigenous to India, nor can its use as a scroll or border be traced in older Indian art. No. 111 shows a modillion cornice similar to those in Case 1, but here both the modillions themselves and their little Corinthian capitals are of Hellenistic origin. The winged marine monster of No. 112 is also borrowed from Greek art, as is the device of little Erotes carrying a long garland shown in fragment No. 115. The elaborate stone No. 116, shows an arrangement of concentric arches with decorated lunulate interspaces, which is itself of purely Indian origin, although the decorative figures are largely foreign. Thus the kneeling Tritons in the spandrels are essentially Greek, both in their origin and their application to such a space, though their adoration of the Buddha is an interesting illustration of how the Gandhāra sculptors harmonized these foreign elements with their own conceptions. No. 117, showing the Buddhist rail, is of course as archaic as No. 56 mentioned in Case No. 2, but the narrow border of acanthus leaves preserved in this specimen is a new motif and hence included in this division. The obviously Greek origin of the Corinthian pilasters, Nos. 124 and 125, need hardly be emphasised.

Table Case B.—The majority of the miscellaneous sculptures in this case are not of the Gandhāra School but of later date. In 429 M we see the Buddha on a lotus throne with a long stalked lotus on either side,

that on the left supporting a small Vajrapāṇi, the one on the right bearing a haloed worshipping figure. Although this was found by excavation in Peshawar, the material, style and technique proclaim it an importation.

Of particular interest is the Gandhāra sculpture 427 M, the Buddha between two Bodhisattvas. That these are not intended for Brahmā and Indra is plain as these two deities appear above the right and left shoulder respectively of the Buddha figure. Indra's characteristic headdress is noteworthy as is also his thunder-bolt (*vajra*). The Bodhisattva to the right is apparently Maitreya and the one to the left, if not then designated Avalokitēśvara, is at least the figure destined to become so later. Before the Buddha's throne is an adoring donor. Another Gandhāra sculpture, No. 1942, shows in two panels the Subjugation of the Elephant and the Visit of Indra. A Tibetan Bodhisattva with *śakti*, 642 M, shows only too plainly how far Buddhism in Tibet has wandered from that of Gandhāra.

Two small steatite sculptures in the style of the Mathurā School, a standing Buddha, 438 M, and a relief, 437 M, depicting the Offering of the Four Bowls and the Mahāparinirvāṇa are of interest on account of the contrast with their Gandhāra prototypes and as evidence of the movement, in early times, of cult and art objects over considerable distances. With these may be compared the two somewhat similar little figures, 689 M and 690 M. Metal images, like the Bodhisattva 663 M, said to have been found in the Ghurband Valley above Swat, are rare in the Peshawar Museum. The purpose of such plaques as 113 M exhibiting a couple in amorous dalliance is uncertain but they are frequently recovered in excavations. *Cf.* 715 M. The subjects carved thereon are usually secular. In 975 M we have a very rare representation of the enshrouding of the Buddha (Introd. 39).

Case 5.—The significance of most of the scenes shown in this case will be clear from a reference to the brief sketch of the Buddha's life given in the Introduction and the detailed legends.

The first four reliefs, Nos. 127-130, depict the four chief events in the Buddha's life, namely his Birth, No. 127 (Introd. 6), his Temptation, representing the Enlightenment, No. 128 (Introd. 19), his First Sermon, No. 129 (Introd. 22), and his Death, the Mahāparinirvāṇa, No. 130 (Introd. 39). The symbolism on the front of the Buddha's seat in No. 129 is interesting, representing as it does the Wheel of the Law borne upon a triśūla,[1] which probably typifies the Three Jewels of the Buddhist world, to wit the Buddha, the Doctrine and the Monastic Order. The reclining deer on either side indicate that the scene is laid in the Deer Park at Sārnāth near Benares. No. 131 represents the Horoscope of Asita (Introd. 7), the Ṛishi holding the infant Buddha on his lap being seated at the spectator's left. The fragmentary scene to the left deals with the adolescence of Siddhārtha and includes the Writing Lesson (Introd. 8) and riding upon a ram. *Cf.* No. 151.

Of the three scenes in No. 133 only the centre one, Mākandika offering his daughter to the Buddha, has yet been identified (Introd. 33). No. 134 represents the Departure from Kapilavastu, when the young prince abandoned his home to seek the way of salvation (Introd. 13). Two of the three scenes on No. 135 are unknown but the one to the right is the Dīpaṅkara-Jātaka (Introd. 1). No. 136 is a fragment from the legend of Kāśyapa. This scene, amusingly drawn, shows the young Brahmans mounting on ladders, to extinguish the supposed conflagration with jars of water (Introd. 23). No. 138 represents Queen Māyā's dream typifying the conception of the Bodhisattva, who is shown under the form of an

[1] *Cf.* Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, Pl. I, where this is considered as the taurine or *nandi-pada* symbol denoting the zodiacal sign Taurus (the Bull) which presided over the Nativity of the Bodhisattva (Siddhārtha).

elephant (Introd. 4). No. 142 is the slaying of the Elephant by the Buddha's wicked cousin Devadatta (Introd. 10). The Wrestling Match, one of the contests arranged in connection with Siddhārtha's betrothal to Yaśodharā is represented by fragment No. 143 (Introd. 9). Of the four scenes on No. 145, the two on the left are identifiable, namely the Offering of the Handful of Dust (Introd. 27) and the subjugation by the Buddha of the furious elephant which Devadatta launched against him (Introd. 37).

Case 6.—The majority of the reliefs in this case are fragments of false niches which were built out on the dome of a stūpa. The form of the complete niche is that of the silhouette of a double-domed chapel, or the same drawn in section, giving the trefoil arch. The decoration, as can be seen from these fragments, consisted usually of a series of legendary scenes arranged vertically in the centre, with panels of smaller abbreviated legendary scenes at the sides. But the very curtailed form of the latter makes it often impossible to say to what legend the scene has reference. Thus of such small scenes in this case only the second one on fragment No. 150 can be identified tentatively as having reference to the child's Offering of the Handful of Dust (Introd. 27). But the presentation of the snake to Kāśyapa is depicted in abbreviated form in the lowest panel of No. 149 and again in the third panel of No. 146, where the left hand of the Buddha is now lost (Introd. 23). The female with mirror in her right hand and parrot on the left wrist seen on the left of No. 146 is worthy of attention. No. 151 is another representation of the First Writing Lesson of the child Siddhārtha (Introd. 8) and the badly damaged fragment No. 154, which originally formed the central portion of a false niche, shows scenes depicting the voluptuous life of the young prince in his palace, his abandonment of the same and his departure from his home in Kapilavastu, in other words, the cycle of the Great Renunciation (Introd. 13). But the most

valuable and interesting sculpture in this case is No. 152 depicting the attempted escape, from the convent, of Nanda, Buddha's half brother, whom he had converted *malgré lui* (Introd. 24). Nanda's futile attempt to hide behind the tree which rises from the ground, disclosing him to the Buddha is amusingly rendered. The fragment No. 153, actually part of No. 152, depicts the Buddha in the air. Not only are his feet clear of the ground but that he is high in the sky is certain from the fact that he is level with the Sun God, who, on a small raised medallion, is shown seated in a *biga*.

Case 7.—This section of the Sahribahlol collection contains those sculptures which are neither single Buddha nor Bodhisattva figures and yet are connected with the cult of Buddhism rather than with the story of the Teacher's life. Thus Nos. 162-167 are portions of a frieze depicting (1) the worship of the Buddha's turban, No. 163, (2) the cult of the Relics, No. 165, and (3) the cult of the Bowl, No. 171-A. The elaborate and ornamental nature of the turban shown on fragment No. 163 is explained by the fact that it represents the headdress of the prince Siddhārtha, which was snatched up to heaven by the gods as recounted in the Introduction (14). It should be noticed that the Persepolitan pilasters and the ogee arches in all these sculptures are archaic elements, familiar in Indian art long before the rise of the Gandhāra school. More interesting than these friezes, however, are sculptures Nos. 158 and 171, each representing a seated Buddha figure with a Bodhisattva standing on either side, apparently representations of the Miracle of Śrāvastī (Introd. 32). In both Nos. 158 and 171 the presence of Indra and Brahmā behind the left and right shoulders of the Buddha respectively should be noted, Indra being characterized by the thunderbolt and the high flat headdress, Brahmā by his long hair.

On the base of No. 158 are three scenes, to right an abbreviated representation of the story of Aṅgulimāla

(Introd. 30), to left the Subjugation of the Nāga Apalāla (Introd. 29) and in the centre a seated Buddha with two adoring figures on either side.

It was for a long time believed that the theory of the Bodhisattvas originated very late in the history of Buddhism, and it seemed at first doubtful whether they could be traced at all in so early a school of Buddhist art as that of Gandhāra. But such sculptures as the two under discussion prove that Bodhisattvas were known to the artists of Gandhāra, and the more these sculptures are studied, the more probable it appears that the theory had already advanced very far even in those early centuries. The Bodhisattva figures thus furnish the student with extremely interesting and valuable material, for among the many problems connected with the Gandhāra school, few are more important than a correct differentiation and determination of the Bodhisattva types. In later Buddhist art, in Tibet, Japan etc., the various Bodhisattvas are distinguished one from another by attributes, but in the earlier school of Gandhāra these are not always constant. In sculpture No. 171, however, the standing figure on the proper left of the Buddha holds a flask in his left hand, while the one on the right holds in his upraised right hand a lotus flower now damaged. In later art these are the attributes of Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara respectively, and it is safe to assume, therefore, that these are the Bodhisattvas depicted here as well as in the precisely similar sculpture No. 158. It is of interest to note that in both cases Avalokitēśvara wears a high headdress while Maitreya has merely an elaborate coiffure. This distinction is of importance when considering the sculptures in the next section.

Cases 8-9.—These cases contain only fragments of single Bodhisattva figures. The peculiar coiffure noticeable in No. 184 seems to indicate that the figure represents Maitreya. The absence of the flask here is immaterial for this is an attribute especially of the standing figure,

whereas in Tibetan art the hands of the seated Maitreya are regularly shown in this position. The importance of the headdress is thus made evident; indeed it is specially emphasized in one of the later Buddhist texts, and from the analogy of Nos. 158 and 184 it seems probable Maitreya is also represented by Nos. 175, 180 and 181. The hand No. 185 is marked by the alabastron or unguent flask as belonging to some Maitreya figure. Similarly, fragments Nos. 172, 182 and 183 appear to be hands from figures of Avalokitēśvara, on the analogy of the left hand of the figure of this Bodhisattva in No. 158. As was noticed in connection with this figure and the one in No. 171, Avalokitēśvara is depicted as wearing a high headdress. These sculptures are too small to permit of much detail, but in general the headdress resembles those in fragments Nos. 176, 179, 188 and 200, Pl. 4 (*a*). These all show as a common feature a circular disc with a tapering tenon. Its purpose is explained by the small sculptured medallion No. 221 in Case 11, which is mortised to receive such a tenon. *Cf.* Nos. 1099, 1137. The fact, furthermore, that these medallions show a seated Buddha with his hands in the attitude of meditation or *dhyāna*, confirms the proposed identification of these Bodhisattvas with Avalokitēśvara, for in later art he regularly wears in his headdress a small seated Dhyāni-Buddha Amitābha. This would make it appear, therefore, that this tiny Buddha is a representation of Amitābha. But this divinity has hitherto been supposed to be a comparatively recent addition to the pantheon, and his occurrence at so early a stage of Buddhism is not yet established. The two Bodhisattvas Avalokitēśvara and Maitreya and the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha, No. 1739, Pl. 1, are the only ones yet identified with certainty in Gandhāra.[1] But the little head No. 192 in Case 9 has so distinctive a pose and so individual a headdress, that it seems probable that some other particular Bodhisattva

[1] Unless we identify the small Bodhisattva in No. 280 with Mañjuśri.

is intended; and the striking similarity between this and the one numbered 950 in the Takht-i-Bāhī collection (Case 39) is strong confirmation of this hypothesis. But in our present ignorance of the emblems and attributes associated with this type, no complete figure having yet been found, it is impossible to determine its identity. Of the other fragments in Case 9 the only one calling for mention is the large and shapely hand, No. 190, with the so-called webbing between the fingers. That this is the hand of a Bodhisattva, and not of a Buddha, is shown by the bracelet; the Buddha himself, being a monk, wears no jewels.

Cases 10-11.—As Buddhism developed, the theory of the existence of Buddhas in past ages of the world and others still to come advanced along with the doctrine of the various Bodhisattvas. But for a number of reasons the historical Gautama has at all times towered far above the other Buddhas, so that, especially in the case of early art, there is hardly any question of differentiating Buddha images. They can all be identified with Gautama with reasonable certainty, except where there are peculiar reasons for supposing that some other Buddha is intended.[1] That the eight Buddhas were known to the artists of Gandhāra is proved by such sculptures as the one pictured by Grünwedel on page 130 of his "Buddhist Art in India",[2] but there is absolutely no evidence to show that the worship of any of these as individuals had advanced sufficiently in the Gandhāra period to warrant separate images. It is not strange, therefore, that there should be a certain similarity between them, since they all represent the one great Teacher. But this similarity never extends to identity, and the careful observer will notice a very pronounced variety among the sculptures even in this Museum. Thus, to mention

[1] *Cf.* the remarks above (Cases 8-9) concerning the figure on the medallion No. 221 and also the Dīpaṅkara-Jātaka (Introd. 1).

[2] *Cf.* also pp. 181 and 188.

externals only, sometimes the figure is moustached (*cf.* Nos. 223, 232, 233, etc.); sometimes it is clean shaven as in No. 212; sometimes the right shoulder is bare as Nos. 220, 227 and 234; or it may be draped as Nos. 208 and 210. The hair may be naturalistically represented as waved and brushed back from the forehead, which is supposed to be the original Hellenistic treatment (*cf.* Nos. 212, 226, 227, etc.), or it may be arranged schematically in little curls as in figures Nos. 210 and 234; the latter arrangement being more in keeping with the canon, where this peculiarity of the Buddha is mentioned. As for the subtleties of facial modelling and expression, the variety is infinite. *Cf.* Nos. 207,[1] 209, 226 and 233 in the Sahribahlol collection. Between such extreme periods as are represented by heads Nos. 207 and 226 on the one hand and Nos. 398, 403, 1440 on the other, still greater divergences can be noticed. Indeed, the more the figures are studied in detail, the more noticeable are the differences, while that which is common to all tends to fade into relative insignificance.[2]

Of the fragments in the Sahribahlol collection in particular, little remains to be said. The begging bowl in the hand of the graceful figure No. 208 is interesting as showing the grooving along the edge explained in the Introduction. No. 210 is not a simple Buddha image but from a Kāśyapa scene such as Nos. 1376, 1577 (Introd. 23). The "webbing" between the fingers is again noticeable in the case of the damaged hand No. 211, while the unusual similarity between the heads Nos. 212 and 233 makes one wonder if they are by the same artist. The two arms numbered 213 and 214, it will be noticed, are not broken from their statues, but are separately carved pieces originally added to the figures as a whole. No. 227 is quite uninjured save for the right knee, and is one of the best pieces in the collection. The colouring

[1] Now in the Central Hall.
[2] *Cf.* p. 51 *et seq.*

about the eyes is interesting as an indication of the well-known fact that in ancient times these sculptures, like those of Greece, were vivified and animated by painting and gilding.[1] One can well imagine what a wonderful difference it must have made, when they were all resplendent with gold and colour, with their haloes marked out in a series of radiating rays of gold on a back-ground of brilliant red, like the little fragment 108 M in Table Case A. Their early worshippers would scarcely recognize them in their present sombre garb.

Case 12.—The sculptures in Case 12 are a miscellaneous and unclassified collection presented to the Museum by Major C. B. Rawlinson, C.I.E. The findspots of the several pieces are unknown, but the fragments are interesting and valuable for their own sake. Thus the well sculptured fragment No. 247, representing the Dīpaṅkara-Jātaka (Introd. 1) is an excellent illustration of the artistic method of the older, indigenous school of Indian art. The various acts in the drama are all shown simultaneously as parts of one composition, the same figures being repeated as often as necessary to carry the action forward. Gandhāra art, itself, rarely represents consecutive scenes in this way, more frequently depicting the various episodes of a story in a series of separate panels arranged in chronological sequence from right to left. But in the older school these combined compositions are frequent and it is probable that the retention of this method in the portrayal of this particular scene is due to some distinct tradition. Jātaka scenes are much commoner in the older school than in Gandhāra, and the representation of the Dīpaṅkara legend may have become stereotyped before that school arose. Another peculiarly interesting, and it is believed unique composition, is that of fragment No. 251, representing the dream of Queen Māyā, the mother of Gautama. No

[1] Song-yun (*c.* 520 A.D.) mentions beautiful images at Po-lu-sha as "covered with gold sufficient to dazzle the eyes." *Cf.* 108 M in Table Case A and 943 M(*a*), (*b*), (*c*) in Table Case M.

other bas-relief of this scene shows the queen with her back to the spectator, but that this was necessary, once her head was placed to the left, has been explained in the Introduction. The chronological sequence running regularly from right to left helps very often to determine the meaning of a fragment. Thus the scene to the left of the queen's dream should represent some incident subsequent to the dream itself. We see the royal couple seated side by side, turned toward a figure on the left now lost; so that, in view of the position of the scene, we can, despite its fragmentary condition, identify it with entire confidence as the Interpretation of the Dream (Introd. 5). The fragment No. 250 is from the left of a relief depicting the Marriage of the Bodhisattva and shows Yaśodharā with train upheld by an attendant about to circumambulate the sacred fire. *Cf.* Nos. 701 M, 1905. The last scene to the left represented the Life in the Palace (Introd. 13). No. 259 where the Buddha and his attendants stand on lotus flowers is probably the invitation of Śrīgupta (Introd. 34). The little seated Buddha in No. 266, on a background of acanthus leaves, is a fragment of a large Corinthian capital, as can be seen from No. 326. But perhaps the most valuable sculpture in the case is the remarkable head No. 268. Portraiture is extremely rare in Gandhāra, but it seems probable that we have here portraiture of considerable strength and power. The incipient *krobulos* on the top of the head, however, is difficult to explain. *Cf.* Nos. 1768, 1770.

Case 13.—This case contains a miscellaneous collection presented by Mr. Pipon, I.C.S., and others. No. 269, a fragment from a sculpture representing the Miracle of Śrāvastī was given by the late Sir Harold Deane, K.C.S.I., and shows an unusually animated Nāga figure rising *à mi corps* from out of the water. The flowers, No. 274, from some large composition are worthy of notice. No. 280 received from Mr. Wilson Johnston, I.C.S., is of special interest, being one of the few inscribed

sculptures in the Museum.[1] The inscription, in the Kharoshṭhī character, reads from right to left and is damaged at either end but apparently refers to the gift of a Buddha image by one Sādhakamitra. The language of the inscription is a local form of Prākṛit.

Case 14.—The seven cases 14 to 20 contain the valuable collection presented to the Museum by P. J. G. Pipon, Esq., I.C.S. They have been classified on the same principles as the Sahribahlol collection being divided into groups according to the nature of the sculptures. Case 14 contains those fragments which illustrate chiefly archaic elements in the art of Gandhāra, whether truly indigenous or of earlier importation. Among the latter are the Persepolitan pilasters with animal capitals on fragment No. 309, and the remarkable seated figure No. 322, which was evidently winged. Figures of this general type are called generically "Atlantes" in Gandhāra art, from their having been used to support columns or cornices. Their application to this use was current in the oldest known school of Indian art, and therefore the present sculpture has been included in this section. But it must be acknowledged that it is one of the most distinctly non-Indian images in the Museum, and it might perhaps have been included with equal propriety among the newer foreign elements in Case 15. The extraordinary way in which the hair and beard are represented, in a kind of corkscrew curls, the floral wreath about the head, and the singularly deep setting of the eye, are all noteworthy features. Indeed, so far as the treatment of the eye is concerned, this figure will compare favourably with any other in the Museum. Not only are the eyes more naturally sunken than in most cases with the muscles of the eyebrows well advanced over them, but the artist has even succeeded in representing a distant, dreamy gaze by his treatment of the upper lids, all showing a grasp of the principles of plastic art

[1] These are Nos. 280, 347, 501, 626, 1944.

considerably in advance of what is usually met with in this school; and, be it added, hardly in keeping with the anatomical defects of the sculpture. One of the weakest points in Gandhāra art is illustrated by fragments Nos. 305 and 319 which are portions of an elephant frieze. Almost every other object in this school is drawn with greater fidelity to nature, but the elephant, possibly because of its rarity in this part of India, is almost always as misshapen as the elephant of a Noah's Ark. An example of the opposite extreme, of minute and careful observation and accurate delineation, is afforded by the plants represented in sculpture No. 1151, the *bauhinia* foliage exhibiting great fidelity to nature.

Case 15.—Of the sculptures in this section, illustrating foreign elements in Gandhāra art, there is little to say, since almost all represented here have already been met with in the Sahribahlol collection. It is hardly necessary to call attention to the large and beautiful sculpture in the centre of the case, No. 336. In the main principles of its composition it resembles No. 116, already discussed; but in excellence of execution and perfection of preservation, the present stone is greatly superior. The legend represented in the largest and lowest of the central scenes, namely the Submission and Conversion of the Nāga Apalāla, is given in the Introduction 29, *cf.* 28 L, Pl. 5 (*a*). No. 330 is interesting as having apparently formed part of a frieze of winged sphinxes; but it is too badly damaged to permit of accurate judgment. Fragment No. 331 is believed to be unique. It is manifestly a winged angel wearing the long himation and the shorter khiton of the Greeks, and represented as blowing a long trumpet. In other words, it appears to be an altogether orthodox Christian angel, so much so that it seems startingly out of place amidst such purely Buddhist surroundings, though it should be borne in mind that it is not more essentially Greek than everything else in this case. After all, the differences

between it and the winged spirits hovering above the Buddha's head in No. 374, for example, are not very great; for the nudity of the latter is quite as distinctively Greek in origin as the costume of this draped angel. As in the case of the little figure among the foliage of the capital in fragment No. 326, its presence here and in later European art can only be due to their both having sprung in part from a common source, probably to be sought for in the little known art of Asia Minor, which Strzygowski has shown to be the source of many motifs hitherto supposed to be of Roman origin.

Case 16.—The legendary scenes in this case are of greater interest than the fragments in the two preceding sections, but unfortunately all have not yet been identified. Among those already met with are the Queen's Dream, No. 350 (Introd. 4), the Birth, No. 359 (Introd. 6), the First Writing Lesson, No. 347, which has an added interest in that the writing board shows a few Kharoshṭhī characters supposed to have been written by the infant genius (Introd. 8). No. 345 seems to depict Siddhārtha's departure from his home in Kapilavastu (Introd. 13) but certain of the features which usually distinguish that scene are here wanting. There is, however, no doubt, that No. 343 is from the left of a relief depicting this scene and we see Māra on the right with his army in the upper part of the relief while the disconsolate City Goddess, *nagaradevatā*, of Kapilavastu is easily recognizable in the female with crenellated crown on the extreme left. *Cf.* No. 572. The farewell of the prince's horse Kaṇṭhaka at the moment when the Bodhisattva dismounted after his flight from Kapilavastu is seen in No. 354, the figure to the extreme right being the grief-stricken groom Chandaka (Introd. 15). The Temptation (Introd. 19) is rather sketchily represented by No. 355 and with more detail in No. 352. No. 353 is a unique relief depicting with noticeable restraint the Temptation of Lust by Māra and his three daughters (Intaod. 19). Fragment No. 349 represents the First

Sermon at Benares (Introd. 22) and No. 344, the Offering of the Handful of Dust (Introd. 27). No. 357 shows the Buddha and his monks as guests in the house of some wealthy female who is about to make a donation as is indicated by the water pot held before her.

Case 17.—Of the devotional sculptures in this case the only one calling for special mention is No. 374, the fragment of a representation of the Miracle of Śrāvastī on an unusually large scale (Introd. 32). The denizens of the watery world and the deeply cut mass of the divine flowers over the head of the Buddha are the most interesting features of this sculpture. *Cf.* Nos. 158, 171, 1553, 1554.

Case 18.—The sculptures here call for no particular notice, though attention may be drawn to the well executed group No. 375, showing a central Buddha with a smaller Bodhisattva on either side. This attempt to emphasize the superior importance of a given figure by representing it physically larger than its surroundings is a device familiar to early art in various parts of the world but as the art of Gandhāra is in no sense primitive are we to see in this a case of artistic regression ?[1] Be that as it may we notice in our sculptures an increasing tendency to exaggerate the size of the principal figure until finally the figure of the protagonist becomes as it were an independent image. *Cf.* Nos. 1577, 1739, Pl. 1. No. 380 again shows the City Goddess of Kapilavastu and No. 384 a double-domed chapel of which structural examples still exist at Takht-i-Bāhī.

Case 19.—The Bodhisattva images in the Pipon Collection are remarkable for their manifestly late date, as indicated by their comparative decadence. No. 393, which may perhaps be a Maitreya, is a good example of what Professor Grünwedel calls the "Indischer Typus", into which the Greek art of Gandhāra degenerated. This

[1] It must not be forgotten, however, that the stature of the Buddha was, in any case, believed to be double that of an ordinary man.

is apparently a transitional form between the original and essentially foreign ideal of this school and the later idealized type of Indian art upon whose excellencies certain critics so insist. But that either figure No. 393 or 398 marks a step forward in the representation of the divine, as compared with the older figures in Gandhāra, is a theory which it would seem difficult to maintain.

Case 20.—The Buddha figures in the Pipon Collection are also unusually late and particularly interesting for this reason, the extraordinary figure No. 403 being one of the most marked instances of degeneration in the Museum. *Cf.* No. 1440. The drapery has almost ceased to have meaning, while the face itself is ludicrous, the wide open eyes with their bulging pupils giving the figure an expression of frightened surprise, far removed from the meditative, almost divine quietism of the best pieces. Another type of decadence is that shown in No. 407, which, however, is not without its own merits, and is probably much older than No. 403. The total effect, aided by the canonical treatment of the hair, is curiously that of a negro head. The same is true, in much lesser degree, of the large mask No. 402, but perhaps this is due in a great measure to the damaged condition of the nose.

Case 21.—The sculptures in this and the two following cases were purchased locally in 1903 and include a number of most admirable pieces. The very deeply and clearly cut fragments Nos. 420, 421, 422 and 424 representing for the most part Brahman ascetics, are particularly fine, but the legends they recount have unfortunately not yet been identified. No. 428 represents the Submission of the Nāga Apalāla (Introd. 29), the Nāga and his spouse being the two figures with the snake-hoods, seen rising from the tank at the spectator's left. No. 433 is another relief of the Offering of the Handful of Dust (Introd. 27) and No. 439 an admirably clear example of the Dīpaṅkara Jātaka (Introd. 1). The miraculous suspension

of the lotuses about Dīpaṅkara's head, and the subsequent adoration by the youth from his elevation in the air are quite distinct here, whereas they are lost in the example of this subject in No. 247.

Case 22.—Perhaps the most interesting relief in this case is No. 457 showing the young Prince Siddhārtha's life in the Palace of Kapilavastu (Introd. 13). The scene is here placed on the right, indicating its precedence in time to the scene on the left, the Great Renunciation, where the *yakshas* supporting the feet of the horse are especially clear. Sculpture No. 455 depicts the First Sermon (Introd. 22), the scene to the right being the meeting with the Nāga Kālika. No. 449 shows the worship of the Relics of Buddha subsequent to his cremation (Introd. 42).

Case 23.—The Cremation itself is represented by the small fragment No. 484 which is here followed on the left by the Distribution of the Relics (Introd. 40, 41). In the latter scene the figure seated behind the table is the Brahman Droṇa. No. 471 is apparently the story of the demon Āṭavika, who having just been converted by the Buddha abstains from devouring the child and presents him to the Buddha (Introd. 26). But the most important fragment in this case is No. 463, which is part of the edge of one of the umbrella discs forming the so-called "*hti*" above a stūpa, the interest being due to the two heads which appear to show portraiture superior to even that of the remarkable head in the Rawlinson Collection.

Case 24.—The sculptures in this case are from a variety of sources. The two excellent Buddha figures No. 489 and No. 490, together with the more debased type No. 488 and the admirable standing image of Maitreya Bodhisattva No. 495, were found by a peasant in the Swabi Tahsil and purchased by Government. The interesting winged Atlas No. 496 was recovered at Jamālgarhi, as also the well preserved little group No. 497. This represents Garuḍa, the king of the Birds, snatching

up a snake deity or *Nāga* by the snake-like projection at the shoulder. This serpent-like portion is brought round the right of the Garuḍa's head and caught in its beak. The particular interest of the group, however, is due to the theory supported by Professor Grünwedel [1] that at the back of such representations of Garuḍa and the Nāgas or Nāgīs lay a memory of the famous group by Leochares representing the eagle of Zeus snatching up Ganymede to be the cup-bearer of the gods; and the general similarity in composition is certainly striking. But, if the rape of Ganymede really does lie behind these sculptures, they well illustrate the process of Indianization to which such Greek motifs were subjected in Gandhāra, and show how these exotic forms were adapted locally to the cult and service of the Indian faith. Sculptures Nos. 491, 493, 494, 498, 499, 500 and 502 were recovered at Rustam by Mr. J. G. Hennessy and presented by him to the Museum. The peculiar greenness of the stone is noticeable. Fragment No. 499 is a particularly striking piece, and really a very clever bit of composition. It represents, in all, seven Nāgas or Nāgīs, it is difficult to tell which, all distinguished by serpents' hoods, and all bearing what seem to be umbrellas. Those at the bottom of the group rise, as usual, only half out of the water in which they were supposed to dwell. This, itself, is a common characteristic of such figures. *Cf.* No. 269. But that a precisely similar concealment for the bodies of those above should have been effected by the judicious utilization of the umbrella motif, whose introduction may be due to the legend which the whole was meant to portray, is very striking, and reflects considerable credit on the artist's ingenuity. The small inscribed fragment No. 501 was purchased from a peasant at Jamālgarhi. The inscription, which is in cursive Kharoshṭhī, is incomplete but states that the image was a gift "in honour of all beings". Sculpture No. 503, the Miracle of Śrāvastī show-

[1] *Buddhist Art in India, p.* 108.

ing a central Buddha figure with a Bodhisattva on either side, and presented by J. A. O. Fitzpatrick, Esq., I.C.S., is remarkable for depicting Avalokitēśvara on the left of the Buddha in the place of honour usually reserved for Maitreya, here standing on the proper right. That the sculpture is decadent and late is perfectly obvious, and together with No. 848, might seem to suggest that, even within the limits of Gandhāra, the cult of the Bodhisattva underwent a long course of development, long enough to admit of Avalokitēśvara coming to precede the older Maitreya in popular estimation were not the two Bodhisattvas found in the same positions in Nos. 1727 and 1729, the latter of which betrays no evidence of a late date. In all probability these variations are due to the forgetfulness of the sculptors or to a recognition of the equality of Maitreya and Avalokitēśvara. Similar interchanges of position in the case of Indra and Brahmā are not unknown.

Cases 25-29.—The excavations at Charsada and Rajjar carried out by Sir John Marshall, Director General of Archæology, and Dr. Vogel, in 1903, are described in the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, 1902-03, and reference may be made to that publication for a detailed account of the sculptures and other antiquities then recovered. The sculptural fragments in Cases 25-28 are from the site known as Palaṭu Dheri, and those in Case 29 from Ghaz Dheri, both near Rajjar, just beyond Charsada. But the majority of the fragments show elements and motifs already met with, and special reference need be made only to the very beautifully sculptured legendary scene No. 568 in Case 26, to the interesting fragment of the Great Renunciation, No. 572, where the disconsolate goddess of the city, the *nagara-devatā*, is particularly well drawn (Introd. 13), and to the remarkable stone No. 602, in Case 27, showing an empty seat or throne with a worshipping haloed figure at either side. In the older school of Indian art, where the figure of the Buddha is never represented, such an empty seat with or without some

sacred symbol would be the usual method of indicating the divine presence, but in the art of Gandhāra no such symbolic portrayal is known. Fragment No. 602, therefore, is either a unique survival of the archaic school, or what seems more probable, the stone throne for a now missing Buddha figure such as No. 1760 or for an image of gold or silver. No. 626, in Case 27 bears a fragmentary Kharoshṭhī inscription from which it appears that the lost image was the gift of a person whose name is unfortunately obliterated. In Case 28 attention may be drawn to the heads numbered 629, 631, 635 and 636; and in Case 29 to the unusually delicate scroll in low relief on fragment No. 657. Fragment No. 675 again is an excellently sculptured relief showing two seated royal figures while No. 677 is a large head belonging evidently to the earlier period of Gandhāra art.

Case 30.—Cases 30-34 contain the stone sculptures recovered in the excavations at Takht-i-Bāhī in 1908. The work was largely limited to the lower court of the many little stūpas, between the upper court of the main stūpa and the monastic quadrangle and is described in the Reports of the Archæological Survey.[1] The monastery at Takht-i-Bāhī is too well known to call for any description here. But despite the interest that has attached to it for so many years, no satisfactory identification of the site has ever been proposed. It was undoubtedly a very important centre of the Buddhist cult, and was certainly occupied for centuries, apparently throughout the greater portion of the Gandhāra period, as is witnessed by the wide range in artistic execution noticeable in the sculptures. But the only definite date so far recovered in connection with the site is 47 A.D. (according to Professor Grünwedel), this being the equivalent of the date occurring in the important inscription from Takht-i-Bāhī, containing the name of the Parthian prince Gondopharnes, to whose court the Apostle

[1] Appendix.

St. Thomas is reported to have gone by divine command.[1] Takht-i-Bāhī was excavated in 1871 by Sergt. Wilcher with a company of Sappers and Miners, and has been exploited more or less constantly ever since. It is, therefore, truly astonishing that the excavations of 1908 and 1911 should have been so productive.

The Takht-i-Bāhī sculptures have been classified like the other collections in the Museum. Case 30 contains fragments illustrating chiefly archaic elements in Gandhāra art. The most conspicuous piece is the remarkably fine Atlas No. 694. Like the large figure in Case 14, this is meant to be winged, the wings being in very low relief in the background. The strong and forceful head, with the curiously oblique eyes, is noteworthy. Indeed the whole figure conveys most admirably the impression of strength and strain, and must be acknowledged a very clever and successful piece of work. Another interesting stone is No. 685, with its graceful foliage in low relief—a very uncommon if not unique design. The Assyrian honeysuckle motif is shown on No. 687. No. 712 is particularly interesting, for it gives an excellent idea of what an ancient stūpa was like. We must restore the *hti* surmounting the whole, but when that is done we have a perfect model of the stūpa in ancient Gandhāra, though on the actual monuments the minute decoration on No. 712 was replaced by bas-reliefs and other sculptures.

Case 31.—Among the fragments showing newly introduced elements is No. 721, an excellently preserved specimen of considerable excellence of the so-called Ichthyocentaur, a marine monster not known originally to Indian mythology, *cf.* Pl. 8 (*a*). The delicately curved fragment No. 736 showing the familiar motif of the garland-bearing Erotes represents the second or upper dome of a double-domed chapel, originally forming the upper portion of fragment No. 735, where it was in position directly above the Buddha's head, the whole composition

[1] For the legend *cf.* Smith, *Early History of India*, (3rd Edition), p. 231.

having been a model of such a chapel with the image in position. *Cf.* No. 384.

Case 32.—In this case are Legendary Scenes, a number of which are unfortunately in a very fragmentary condition. The Dīpaṅkara-jātaka (Introd. 1) is represented by No. 783 and by the smaller fragment No. 781. Several pieces of the First Sermon occur, Nos. 760, 762, 767, 772; but the only complete sculpture of this legend, No. 786, is in the next case (Introd. 22). No. 774, which is from the right central portion of a false niche, shows fragments of four legendary scenes, the only recognisable one being the third from the bottom, portraying the subjugation of the elephant which Devadatta hoped would kill the Buddha (Introd. 37). No. 775 is a very stiff representation of the Mahāparinirvāṇa (Introd. 39). The fainting figure in the foreground is Ānanda, the Beloved Disciple of Buddhist story. The most interesting stone in this case, however, is No. 769, the right hand side of a very large pedestal originally supporting a standing Buddha figure, as may be inferred from the unsandalled foot partly preserved. This was not, however, a simple Buddha image. From the presence of the four small feet it is plain that it formed part of a legendary scene, the Presentation of the Snake to Kāśyapa. *Cf.* Nos. 1549, 1710. The composition originally resembled Nos. 1376, 1378, 1451, 1577, 1842. The scenes on the pedestal are appropriately connected with the same story, the one to the right showing the Buddha seated in the temple, the snake about to creep into the alms bowl resting on the steps, and the young Brahmans endeavouring to put out the fire, *cf.* No. 136 (Introd. 23). The scene to the left is incomplete, but it shows the fire temple before the arrival of the Buddha who was doubtless depicted on the missing left portion of the pedestal.

Case 33.—The Legendary Scenes in this case are much better preserved, and present us with a number of subjects not met with hitherto in the Peshawar Collection.

The first one in the case, No. 784, is the Departure from Kapilavastu (Introd. 13). No. 786 is the First Sermon (Introd. 22). Of the three scenes in No. 787 the uppermost is the Buddha's Approach to the seat beneath the Bodhi-tree at Bodh Gaya (Introd. 18). The central one is Indra's Visit to the Buddha, the kneeling figure on the right with high headdress being Indra (Introd. 25). The lowest scene of all is yet unidentified as are also Nos. 789 and 790, but 792 is clearly another version of the Approach to the Seat of Wisdom, showing the Nāga Kālika and his wife Suvarṇaprabhāsā singing the hymn of praise in honour of the Buddha (Introd. 17). The two figures on the left are seemingly Māra and his daughter looking towards the Bodhi-tree. *Cf.* No. 353. There are really parts of two scenes in No. 792. These are not separated in the usual way by pilasters, but marked by the direction the figures face. The scene to the right on fragment No. 794, is the story of the White Dog which barked at the Buddha (Introd. 28), the fragment on the left being a merely decorative composition showing the eight Buddhas.[1] Nos. 795 and 807 are evidently parts of one and the same frieze, but the fragments do not fit together. The subject is not definitely known. One of the most striking exhibits in the Museum is No. 799, Pl. 3, an image of the Ascetic Gautama. Only one other similar statue is known, namely, that discovered by Sir Harold Deane, K.C.I.E., at Sikri, and which is now in the Lahore Museum but the subject is occasionally represented on bas-reliefs and in miniature. *Cf.* 1911, 1912. The emaciated figure is meant to recall the six years of fasting and austerities which Gautama underwent as an ascetic subsequent to the Great Renunciation, and prior to the attainment of Enlightenment (Introd. 16). When he set out to follow the religious life he naturally adopted the methods current among his people and it was not until he had proved these to be fruitless, that he struck out the

[1] Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, pp. 181, 188.

path for himself, which eventually led him to that supreme knowledge by virtue of which he is called "the Buddha," *i.e.*, the Enlightened One. The relief sculptured on the pedestal of this figure is elsewhere unknown in Gandhāra sculpture; it represents, appropriately enough, the second long period of fasting which Gautama underwent, namely, the seven weeks' fast immediately following the Enlightenment. The story so graphically represented is that of the two merchants Trapusha and Bhallika (Introd. 21).

Case 34. The Legendary Scenes in this case are badly damaged and call for little remark. No. 816-A—B is the most important as it shows the general size and shape of a false niche, or rather of the upper or crowning portion of the same. The reliefs are in a deplorable condition, but the main scene is recognizable as the Dīpaṅkara-jātaka (Introd. 1). The fragment No. 816-A, depicts an abbreviated version of the Angulimāla legend. *Cf.* No. 1317. The little circular medallion No. 810, it may be noticed, originally formed part of another Dīpaṅkara-jātaka scene, and shows the youth Megha or Sumati in the air worshipping Dīpaṅkara Buddha.

Cases 35-36.—These cases contain the Devotional Sculptures of the Takht-i-Bāhī Collection. A number of the fragments, especially in Case 36, seem originally to have been part of one long composition (*cf.* Nos. 842, 844, 847, 858, 859, etc.) but it is impossible to restore the whole. The most interesting of the group are Nos. 835 and 858. Both show a seated Buddha in the centre, with hands folded in the attitude of meditation, *dhyāna*, and with a number of smaller standing Buddha figures at an angle on either side, while a noticeable feature of both is the crescent moon above the central Buddha's head. Nos. 850 and 859, having a Bodhisattva with three radiating figures on either side, are worthy of attention as the former has a crescent[1] above the head and one of the radiating figures bears a trident. Fragment No. 848 is another

[1] The crescent moon is associated with Avalokiteśvara in later art.

very valuable and suggestive stone for like No. 503 it shows Avalokitēśvara on the left of the Buddha, whereas in most of these compositions of the Miracles of Śrāvastī this, the place of honour, is usually given to the Bodhisattva Maitreya. The sculpture is very late, and this in a way strengthens the possibility that the change in position may correspond with a change in the popular estimation of Avalokitēśvara, but, it is impossible to determine the question at present. *Cf.* Cases 70, 71. The fragment, however, is a good illustration of how very valuable archæologically a sculpture may be, even when distinctly inferior in execution or beauty. Nos. 848 and 830 are the only Gandhāra images hitherto known depicting the *Buddha seated in European fashion.*[1]

Cases 37-39.—The Bodhisattva fragments from Takht-i-Bāhī show a remarkable range and variety. The delicately carved head No. 886, with its extraordinary headdress adorned with double-tailed Tritons and such an uncouth figure as No. 909, for instance, or No. 925 in Case 38 hardly seem assignable to the same period and point to a protracted occupation of the monastery of Takht-i-Bāhī. But apart from such evidences of decadence as is afforded by the ugly and meaningless arrangement of the drapery in figure No. 920, or the grotesque lack of proportion in No. 911, this case presents few features worthy of remark.

The pose of the seated Bodhisattva No. 938, with the right knee raised, is relatively uncommon, but not unknown. *Cf.* No. 887. The majority of the images, unfortunately, lack their attributes (*cf.* Nos. 957, 958 and 959), but where they are preserved, as in Nos. 905 and 913, they support the theory already stated that the figure with the loop of hair to the right is the Bodhisattva Maitreya. The form of the headdress, makes it highly probable that Avalokitēśvara is the divinity represented

[1] A relief *G.* 50 *Indian Museum, Calcutta,* shows the Buddha similarly seated while an attendant washes his feet.

by Nos. 886, 896, 903, 938 and possibly 944, although it cannot be definitely affirmed. That No. 958 represents Maitreya is practically certain despite the absence of the alabastron ; while the similarity of head No. 950 to the one numbered 192 has been noted together with the possibility that both represent some particular Bodhisattva not yet identified.

Cases 40-43. That the excavations at Takht-i-Bāhī yielded a surprisingly large number of Buddha heads is shown by the rich collection in Cases 40-43 where the range is perhaps greater even than in the case of the Bodhisattvas. The image No. 986 is certainly among the most chaste and beautiful of those in the Museum, while none is more feeble and insipid than the head No. 1030, or coarser than No. 1074. Perhaps the best of the heads are in Case 41, but Nos. 963, 966, 1049, 1053 and the beautiful large mask 1068 are all interesting, and definitely older than Nos. 970, 1030, 1045 and 1074. Another certainly late production is No. 1043, one of the few terracotta figures in this collection ; the material may explain in some measure the deviation from the normal type. *Cf.* No. 1635. Finally the interesting hand No. 1056 may be mentioned, with its begging bowl holding the coils of a serpent. There are several stories recounting the Buddha's victories over particular serpents but from the popularity of the Kāśyapa scenes this is probably from such a sculpture as No. 1842.

Case 44. The miscellaneous sculptures recovered at Takht-i-Bāhī in 1908 include a number of very interesting fragments, but they do not appear to advantage when massed in such numbers. No. 1093, the first in the case, represents the Tutelary Couple (Introd. 36). Hāritī as a goddess of fecundity, has certain points in common with the classical Ceres, or Demeter, and it is not surprising, therefore, that the cornucopia should be associated with her in Gandhāra, as in No. 1096. She is, however, usually distinguished, not by this exotic symbol,

but by the presence of some of her very numerous offspring, little gnomes or spirits of the *yaksha* class of which Pāñchika is the *senāpati*. This more typical form is illustrated by Nos. 241, 1093 and 1101. A classical element of interest is shown in No. 1099, which, like the smaller fragment No. 1137, depicts the King of the Birds, Garuḍa, snatching up a snake deity or *nāga*, after the manner of the eagle of Zeus and Ganymede, *cf.* No. 497. These two medallions have tapering mortices behind like No. 221 and must originally have fitted tenons in the headdresses of Bodhisattva images. Other interesting pieces are the medallion No. 1122, probably representing the elevation and worship of the boy Sumati in the Dīpaṅkara-jātaka, and the very curiously bowed figure No. 1132. But the most valuable piece in this group, and indeed one of the finest examples of Gandhāra sculptures in the Museum, is the large composition in three pieces numbered 1151-A, B, and C. The general size and shape of this sculpture are clear from the portions preserved. The Buddha is seated in the centre, in what is intended as a wild and mountainous spot, with numberless ascetics or "Forest-dwellers", and various birds and beasts as his companions. *Cf.* 1944.

A few divine personages are present of whom Pāñchika is still preserved on the right. Other small fragments of this relief are Nos. 1118, 1133, 1134, 1147 and 1148, but it is impossible to restore them to their proper positions. That the sculpture, as a whole, was most elaborate and most beautiful is obvious. Nowhere are heads and faces more successfully drawn, or limbs better proportioned and more delicately modelled than in the figures of the Brahman hermits along the base of this sculpture; nor does any other specimen of Gandhāra art display a greater naturalness in the depiction of animal life or a greater fidelity to nature in the presentation of plant forms. The astonishing realistic representation of the *bauhinia* foliage above the ascetics on the extreme right is especially noteworthy.

The story depicted is that of the sixteen Brahman ascetics, who came to the Buddha to solve their difficulties (Introd. 35). This legend is again found on the pedestal of No. 238.

Case 45.—The stucco fragments from Takht-i-Bāhī are singularly well preserved and in many instances of exceptional delicacy and beauty. The great variety is very noticeable, when, as here, the heads are grouped together. The majority represent Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, but not all as is clear from the extraordinary bearded head, No. 1190, and the heavily moustached one, No. 1189, beside it. Such heads as Nos. 1189, 1190, 1197 and 1198 modelled to represent the face turned to one side are clearly from some large composition. No Bodhisattvas are definitely recognizable, with the exception of Nos. 1173, 1178 and 1204 which appear to represent Maitreya. By far the greater number are Buddha heads, and special mention may be made of Nos. 1168, 1172, 1203, 1209, 1211 and also 1177 the last being a good example of what Professor Grünwedel calls the Hindu type.

Case 46. But of even larger interest than the heads are the other stucco fragments from Takht-i-Bāhī in Case 46. It is well known that little stūpas and other buildings at ancient Buddhist sites in this Province were elaborately decorated with friezes and other ornamental work in stucco, but, actual legendary scenes in this medium have on account of their relative frailty rarely been recovered. Here, however, we have stucco fragments of legendary scenes executed on a fairly large scale. They originally formed part of the ornamentation on the little stūpas in the central court of the monastery. The two large pieces Nos. 1265 and 1267 at the bottom of the case both depict the youthful Siddhārtha's voluptuous life in the palace before his renunciation (Introd. 13). Below, we see the female musicians, the careful modelling of the apparently nude figure in No. 1265 being especially note-

worthy. Above, the young prince is shown rising from his couch prepared to flee from his sleeping wife and enter on his long search for salvation. Other familiar scenes are the First Sermon represented by fragments Nos. 1250 and 1252 (Introd. 22), the Birth by the very interesting sculptures Nos. 1241 and 1242 (Introd. 6), and the Temptation (Introd. 19) by the curious fragment No. 1232, which represents the torso of one of Māra's demons with a diabolical face on the breast. Another well executed fragment is No. 1249, depicting a mailed figure drawing a heavy sword; but whether this is Māra or not, it is impossible to say. Its smaller size, in any case, precludes the possibility of its having formed part of the composition of which No. 1232 is a fragment.

Case 47. This and the following case contain the stone fragments recovered at Takht-i-Bāhī in 1909, during the clearance of the extreme eastern portion of the site and of the outer face of the main wall on the south. Fragment No. 1270 again shows the Buddha and two Bodhisattvas, with Avalokitēśvara occupying the position of honour on the left. The curved stone No. 1278 is also a valuable piece, showing an interesting series of standing Buddha figures under rounded arches alternating with seated Buddhas under the peculiar "*fronton coupé*" of Takht-i-Bāhī. Another instance of the same design is shown in No. 1282. The apparently uninteresting fragment No. 1283 is really one of the most valuable in the Museum, as the back is definitely sculptured with the folds of the drapery, thus unlike every other image in the Museum being truly in the round. The unusual pose of the Bodhisattva Maitreya, No. 1284, may be mentioned, as images with the feet crossed at the ankle are comparatively rare in Gandhāra.

Case 48. Among the Takht-i-Bāhī fragments of 1909, included in this case, special attention may be drawn to the excellent little Buddha No. 1298 and to the group representing the Tutelary Couple, No. 1299, where again

Pāñchika is seated on the left as in No. 1093. The heads numbered 1301, 1302 and 1303 are all good, the last being specially remarkable for the sculptured outline of the pupil in the eye, rare in the early art of Gandhāra, though a regular feature of the later images from Shah-jī-kī-Dherī. The badly damaged sculpture No. 1320 is valuable as an extreme instance of the exaggerated size sometimes given to the main figure in a group, the attendants to right and left being in this case dwarfs in comparison, and for the interesting form of the pedestal. But the most noteworthy of all the pieces in this case is the very well carved block No. 1319. On each side one scene is sculptured, enclosed on either side by a wide Corinthian pilaster with square shaft with leaf and dart moulding. The scenes represented are those of the cycle of Mahāparinirvāṇa, but the order, curiously enough, is the exact reverse of what is customary. The Death itself (Introd. 39) is the first of the series. Next to this on the right, instead of on the left, as was to have been expected, comes the Cremation (Introd. 40) with two attendants pouring water or milk upon the flames. This is followed on the right by the Guarding of the Relics, where these are shown draped and garlanded under the watch and ward of two of the Malla chieftains. The fourth and last scene appears to represent the cult of the Buddha after the Mahāparinirvāṇa. The Buddha is shown seated in meditation (*dhyāna*) with Indra and Brahmā standing in adoration to his left and right respectively. In other words, this sculpture, believed to be unique, represents the Apotheosis of the Buddha and his worship by the heavenly host.

Case 49.—Most of the sculptures in the cases of the lower gallery were obtained in excavations carried out subsequent to 1907 at various sites in the neighbourhood of Peshawar. Those in Cases 49-54 were recovered by Dr. Spooner at Sahribahlol in 1909-10. Of the decorative details Nos. 1321 and 1322 are of special interest, for the scroll of vine leaves with grapes and tendrils, though definitely a foreign motif, has become thoroughly accli-

matised and monkeys and a peacock seem quite at home in the volutes. *Cf.* No. 109. The winged Atlantes, No. 1323 and double-tailed Tritons and winged dragons of No. 1325 are fitting companions of the winged adoring centaur No. 1330 and of the more militant centaur with shield depicted in No. 1331. *Cf.* No. 1658. The unique relief No. 1327 showing a water pot with lotus flowers and buds flanked by curious standards with long pennons is possibly a representation, in the manner in the Ancient Indian School, of the Birth of the Buddha. Lamps appear to have been common offerings at these Buddhist shrines *cf.* No. 74-L, and the Museum possesses several specimens, but No. 1341 is the largest example so far recovered. *Cf.* Nos. 769-M., 770-M., 1687, 1688, 1689.

Case 50. The reliefs in this case are almost entirely devotional in character showing adoration of the Buddha, Bodhisattvas or of relics. In No. 1345 a monk on the left leads five adoring females into the presence of a seated Bodhisattva while on the right a similar monk precedes four worshipping male laics. The Nāgas shown in Nos. 1354 and 1355 must be from some representation of the Miracle of Śrāvastī of which No. 1361 is an abbreviated version and where on the pedestal an adoring donor kneels on either side of an elevated incense burner. But the most interesting sculpture is No. 1364—a pair of hands holding a miniature shrine such as is carried by the image No. 1427 and found at the same site. The hands, although obviously *not* those of a Buddha, bear traces of the so-called " webbing " between the fingers.

Case 51.—The legendary scenes of this case are of special interest and several await identification. No. 1366 is seemingly an incident in the life of that monomaniac of charity, the prince Viśvantara and shows him presenting the state elephant to the Brahman (Introd. 3). Whether No. 1367 represents the Yava-Majjhakīya Jātaka, in which a sorely tested and faithful wife succeeded by a stratagem in freeing herself from the importunities of

her suitors by getting them all into one box, is doubtful. The absence of the Buddha from No. 1369 would seem to relegate this incident to some *jātaka* or to a legend where the intervention of the Buddha occurs later in the story. The central emaciated figure appears to be crossing a stream indicated by wavy lines on the relief and on the lower edge. The Buddha putting his arm through the walls of a cave suggests the story of Buddha re-assuring Ānanda, but confirmative details are lacking and No. 1370 still needs interpretation.

The Mahāparinirvāṇa reliefs are recalled by No. 1372 but the recumbent figure is not that of a Buddha and the usual monks and other personages are likewise absent so the relief cannot definitely be identified.

The story of Aṅgulimāla (Introd. 30) is depicted most graphically and vigorously in No. 1371. The garland of fingers both in the headdress and when fallen to the ground leaves no doubt as to the identification of the robber.

The conversion of Kāśyapa and particularly the incidents dealing with the victory over the snake in the fire temple appear to have been favourite themes for the sculptors of Gandhāra and No. 1373 is a more detailed representation than usual. *Cf.* Nos. 1376, 1378, 1890. The relief on the pedestal shows very appropriately the Buddha in meditation with the snake about to creep into the alms bowl.

Case 52. No. 1374, a well preserved stucco relief of the Birth and Seven Steps (Introd. 6) still preserves traces of its original colour.

No. 1377, a fragment from a relief showing the Flight from Kapilavastu (Introd. 13), depicts both the horse, Kaṇṭhaka and the groom Chandaka who holds aloft the royal umbrella. The popularity of the Kāśyapa legend is again evidenced by Nos. 1376, 1378, but in each case the left hand holding the alms bowl with the snake is missing.

The Dīpaṅkara-jātaka (Introd. 1) is treated on an unusually large scale in No. 1379 and the deer skin and hair under the feet of Dīpaṅkara Buddha are very realistically rendered.

Cases 53-54.—The Bodhisattva figures of Case 53 present no new features. Nos. 1381, 1383, 1385, 1387, 1388 and 1389 appear to be Maitreya and the hand No. 1382 is from a statuette of that Bodhisattva. The long necked vase adored by two kneeling donors on the pedestal of No. 1387 strengthens the identification of that image as one of the Bodhisattva Maitreya. But the most striking sculpture is No. 1390, the portrait head of an aged monk. The markedly aquiline nose and small but determined lips indicate a stern and commanding personality, while in the high forehead is found an indication of intellectual power sufficient to explain why such an exceptional honour as a portrait statue was accorded to a monk. The unfinished hand, No. 1391, bearing a miniature shrine, would appear to have been part of this unusually fine and unique statue. *Cf.* Nos. 1364, 1427.

In Case 54 the so-called "webbing" of the fingers is very noticeable in Nos. 1400, 1401 and in the right hand of No. 1402. The centre scene of No. 1417, a sculpture from Case 55, represents the story of the White Dog which barked at the Buddha (Introd. 28). *Cf.* No. 794.

Case 55. The sculptures in this case were recovered by excavations at Takht-i-Bāhī and Shah-jī-kī-Dherī during the years 1908-11.

No. 1412 is the lower edge of an elaborate representation of the Miracle of Śrāvastī (Introd. 32). Emerging *à mi-corps* from the water on either side of the lotus stem are the two *nāga-rājas*, Nanda and Upananda, one armed with a spear, the other having a lotus flower in the right hand and a dolphin round his right shoulder. *Cf.* No. 1735. A couple of haloed divinities are similarly depicted on either side of the lotus throne and on both ends of the relief are smaller lotus pedestals for the usual attendant

Bodhisattvas and divinities. No. 1415 is in curiously low relief but presents interesting details of female costume, coiffure and jewellery. Few more interesting and detailed representations of the martial exercises than No. 1408 have been recovered and the Bodhisattva is seen engaged in archery, and about to take part in a tug of war, while one of the competitors prepares a sling (Introd. 9). Statues of the emaciated Buddha are comparatively rare but No. 1413 from Shah-jī-kī-Dherī is clearly from one of these compositions.

In No. 1416 Pāñchika and Hāritī are represented with considerable vigour and much wealth of detail. *Cf.* No. 241.

Case 56.—The exhibits in Cases 56-65 were obtained in 1912 by Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., from a small mound at Sahribahlol. The stucco fragments and reliefs, some of which were found *in situ*, are representative of the school towards its decline when artistic effort was weakening. With these productions should be compared the stucco remains in Cases A, 1, 45, 46, etc.

Case 57.—The miscellaneous sculptures of Case 57 call for no special mention but the Atlantes Nos. 1496, 1498, 1500 from cornices are typical details. No. 1501 is a medallion from the headdress of a Bodhisattva such as No. 1384 and has a tapering mortice behind like No. 221. Unusually large and well rendered is the lion No. 1506. Smaller lions fed by little *yakshas* or Cupids are commonly found on the ends of the thrones of images. *Cf.* Nos. 238, 1433. The fragment No. 1505 is from such a pedestal. An examination of the pedestal of No. 1436 will reveal how these lion figures were so easily separated.

Cases 58-60.—The sculptures of Case 58, principally pedestals of images, show seated Buddhas and Bodhisattvas receiving the adoration of both monks and laity. Scenes, however, more spirited in action were once depicted on either side of the Bodhisattva of No. 1517. Though now fragmentary the scene to the right was probably

the Submission of Apālāla (Introd. 29), that to the left the Conversion of Aṅgulimāla (Introd. 30).

With the exception of the decadent relief No. 1525 the sculptures in Case 59 are all forms of the Miracle of Śrāvastī. No. 1528 is a typical specimen with the duplicated images of the Buddha in little shrines on the upper corners. A more abbreviated but pleasing example is No. 1527, Pl. 2 (*a*), resembling Nos. 158, 171. Fragment No. 1526 from the upper left of an elaborate composition such as No. 1554 shows the Buddha with an aureole of flanking Buddhas on either side. *Cf.* No. 1734.

In Case 60, Nos. 1529, 1540, are likewise fragments from similar scenes, the former displaying the very elaborately treated stem of the lotus. One of the most interesting sculptures in the Museum is No. 1534 where we see an image of the Buddha being presented to the Buddha himself! As before noted the Buddha image is due to the school of Gandhāra, which arose some four hundred years after his death. The sculptor, has, therefore, been guilty of an anachronism, but with such a relief before them it is easy to realise how the unsuspecting Buddhists came to believe that there were images of the Buddha during his life-time and why the Chinese pilgrims refer to images contemporary with the Master.

No satisfactory identification of the very striking sculpture No. 1537 has yet been advanced but the composition of which it is a fragment would appear to have been on an unusually large scale.

Case 61.—An exceptional feature, the haloed Bodhisattva in the arms of his nurse, and not in the lap of Asita, is seen in No. 1541, the Horoscope of the Bodhisattva. *Cf.* No. 1726 (Introd. 7). No. 1543, though only doubtfully a form of the Miracle of Śrāvastī, is clearly founded upon such reliefs as is evidenced by the pose of the hands, the lotus throne and the princely attendants. No. 1544 is certainly from such a relief.

On the right of the seated Bodhisattva of No. 1549 we see the Buddha presenting the snake in the alms bowl to Kāśyapa. *Cf.* No. 1710 (Introd. 23). The elephant of No. 1550 emerging from a gateway is Nālagiri yet to be subdued by the Buddha. *Cf.* No. 1850 (Introd. 37). The costume of the headless figure on the left of No. 1551 is worthy of examination.

No. 1545, the Presentation of the Four Bowls (Introd. 20), formed part of the false niche of a stūpa, of which an almost complete specimen is seen in the now combined fragments Nos. 1548, 1552.

Case 62.—Both Nos. 1553 and 1554 are elaborate representations of the Miracle of Śrāvastī (Introd. 32). No. 1553 seemingly of late date shows the Buddha on a throne supported by a lotus and with small meditating Bodhisattvas to right and left. The cherubs supporting the crown above the Buddha are well preserved and explain the purpose of such figures as Nos. 1492, 1494. Much variety of pose is exhibited by the divine figures flanking the Buddha. The scene on the upper left shows him with an aureole of standing Buddhas, that to the right a seated Buddha between two monks and a bearded Vajrapāṇi.

A still more complete relief is No. 1554. Here elephants support the lotus, and a small Buddha figure is upheld by the trunk of the centre one. The elephant is not entirely inappropriate here as the word *nāga* has the double meaning of both serpent and elephant. Two small haloed figures are also upheld by these "*nāgas*" near the shoulders of the Buddha.

The Indo-Persepolitan columns and capitals, the balconies with female spectators, the modillion cornices, the double domed chapels, and the stūpa with its pinnacle of umbrellas, and flanking lion-crowned pillars are worthy of detailed examination. Not an inch of space is left undecorated and even legendary scenes are found between

the little stūpa and the chapels, the Dīpaṅkara Jātaka to right (Introd. 1) and the Offering of the Handful of Dust to the left (Introd. 27).

Cases 63-65. No new features are represented by the Bodhisattvas of Case 63 which fall into the two types already described. No. 1560 in very low relief seems to be of late date. The evidence that the second and third fingers of the large hand No. 1566 were additions to the stone is not without interest and accounts for their loss.

The Buddhas of Case 64 exhibit several forms of the treatment of the hair, by natural wavy lines, light curls and a modified naturalistic form as in No. 1575. Two of the ever popular Kāśyapa scenes again appear in Nos. 1569, 1577 (Introd. 23).

The ornamented edge of the halo of the late relief No. 1567 should be noted. *Cf.* No. 1424. No. 1572 is, in reality, the head of a small Bodhisattva figure.

Most of the sculptures of Case 65 are late and decadent but No. 1584 showing the Bodhisattva Maitreya with adoring figures is not without interest, and No. 1591, the Bodhisattva seated in easy attitude on a draped cane seat is a very successful effort. The sandal from which the right foot has been withdrawn is cleverly and realistically rendered.

Case 66. Cases 66-74 contain sculptures obtained by Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., during the excavation of Mound C. at Sahribahlol in 1912.

The stucco fragments present much variety, architectural details, heads of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, monks, ascetics, laics and even horses being shown. The fragmentary friezes Nos. 1606, 1607, 1608 are stucco very successfully coloured to imitate the local stone. No. 1635 is a terracotta figurine and differs not only in technique but in costume, jewellery and coiffure from the images of the Gandhāra school and appears to be an importation. *Cf.* No. 1043. Nos. 1645, 1652, 1653 were found *in situ* adorning the base of a stūpa.

Cases 67-68. —The fragments in Case 67 present no novel features but No. 1658, the armed centaur, No. 1677 a double-tailed Triton, and Nos. 1679, 1682, ichthyocentaurs and the curious fish-tailed bull, No. 1681 are striking productions. Three stone lamps Nos. 1687, 1688 and 1689 are presumably votive offerings. No. 1690 is the fragment of a stone umbrella from a stūpa.

Scenes of devotion form the subject of most of the reliefs in Case 68 but the costumes and coiffures of the worshippers, notably on Nos. 1695, 1701 and 1703 deserve attention as these were, almost certainly sketched from life. Noteworthy too are the *Yavanīs* treated as caryatides, in Nos. 1697 and 1698.

Case 69. —The identified legendary scenes represented in this case are No. 1708. The Offering of the Handful of Dust (Introd. 27); No. 1710. Presentation of the snake in the alms bowl to Kāśyapa (Introd. 23); No. 1718. The Bodhisattva preparing for the flight from Kapilavastu, where Kaṇṭhaka and Chandaka are both shown in the royal bedchamber (Introd. 13); No. 1723. The approach to the Bodhi Tree (two scenes) (Introd. 18); No. 1726. The Horoscope (Introd. 7); and No. 1716. The Visit of the Nāga Elāpatra (Introd. 38). This last relief, a unique specimen, shows Elāpatra twice, first as a princely figure in adoring attitude on the extreme left with a cobra forming a canopy over his head, and again in his natural animal form before the throne. This visit is reputed to have occurred at Benares and is probably why the general form of the First Sermon is preserved in this relief, even to the presence of five monks.

In No. 1719 the Bodhisattva is seen riding a ram. *Cf.* No. 131. Nos. 1712, 1713, 1717 and 1720 are probably scenes from *Jātakas* but await certain identification, as does No. 1714 which recalls a similar figure in No. 1426.

Cases 70-71.—The reliefs in Cases 70 and 71, excepting perhaps No. 1734, deal with the Miracle of Śrāvastī and

witness the growing popularity of these compositions as the art of the school declined, for though Nos. 1729 and 1735 still display some feeling and vigour most of these reliefs exhibit a lifeless mediocrity (Introd. 32). Considerable variety is shown in the attendant figures but the Buddha seated in the preaching attitude on a lotus, or throne supported by a lotus, and flanked by standing Bodhisattva figures continues to form the central feature. The position of the Bodhisattvas is not constant. The duplicate Buddha images are absent in Nos. 1729, 1731 and 1736, but appear as standing figures, four on each side, to form an aureole to the central Buddha of No. 1734 which, it should be noted, is in the attitude of meditation. In this relief elephants support adoring divinities on their trunks. *Cf.* No. 1554.

The watery world with *nāgas*, lotuses and waterfowl, is well rendered in No. 1735 where the dolphin[1] again appears on the right arm of one of the *nāga-rājas*. *Cf.* No. 1412. The sculptor of No. 1738 displays some temerity in representing the flanking Buddhas *à mi corps* in the little panels but lacks the hardihood of the artist of No. 1553 who ventured to chisel the crown above the Buddha in almost full relief.

Case 72.—The Bodhisattva Avalokitēśvara appears to be represented by Nos. 1740, 1743, 1745, 1746 and 1747 so that the Buddha in the headdress of No. 1740 seated with hands in the attitude of meditation may be assumed to be the Dhyāni-Buddha Amitābha. *Cf.* Nos. 221, 222.

No. 1742 is the Bodhisattva Maitreya but the real interest of this case is centred on No. 1739, Pl. 1, for this is the only certain *image* of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha in the Museum. The identification is assured beyond dispute by the ploughing scene on the right of the pedestal

[1] The dolphin is one of the Hellenistic details of the Graeco-Buddhist school.

and the composition as a whole represents the First Meditation of the Bodhisattva (Introd. 12).

In reality the sculpture is a legendary scene where the figure of the protagonist is so enlarged as to become an image, the other part of the action being relegated to the pedestal. This suggests the interesting question, whether images may not have been evolved by similar methods from legendary reliefs. The figures to the left of the incense-burner are donors. With No. 1739 should be compared the Kāśyapa scene No. 1577 where the Buddha is out of all proportion to the rest of the figures and becomes a free statuette when the pedestal is broken. *Cf.* No. 1842.

Case 73.—The Buddha images in this case appear to represent a long period of artistic effort. Between the execution of No. 1751 and No. 1748 a considerable time must have elapsed. Where the hair is treated in natural wavy lines, the technique is usually superior to that where a meaningless schematic treatment is given to the hair. The small image No. 1760 might have been placed in a miniature shrine such as No. 602.

No. 1763 is one of the few sculptures in the Museum where the Buddha is given a trefoil aureole.

Case 74.—To the tedious monotony of endless Buddha and Bodhisattva figures welcome variety is afforded by the images of Case 74. From the treatment of the drapery, No. 1767 appears to be of late date. The costume, no doubt sketched from life, resembles that worn by the females in No. 1701. Very noticeable are the elongated lobes of the ear.

No. 1768 is somewhat like the head No. 268 in Case 12. The hair generally is treated naturally and despite the small looped lock the head is undoubtedly that of a layman as it lacks the *urṇa*. In all probability it formed part of a statue such as No. 1427 and may have been a portrait.

The striking figure No. 1770 with its long robe suggests at first glance a monk, but the earrings and hair make it certain that it is a figure of some layman. The crown of the head is tonsured save for a little lock of hair (*choti*) in the centre. It is unfortunate that the right forearm, probably upraised in the act of scattering flowers, is now lost but the left hand still holding them shows that the figure is of some adoring follower of the Buddha. No trace of "*webbing*" is found between the fingers of the left hand. A similar flower-bearing figure on a smaller scale is No. 1769 which exhibits interesting details of costume.

The most arresting image is No. 1773, Pl. 4 (*b*), where we see Hāritī clothed exactly as is the adoring figure No. 1767. Artistically this cannot be compared with the gracious figure of No. 241 but iconographically it is of the greatest possible value as showing the progress of Indianization. From her *yaksha* spouse, Pāñchika, she has borrowed the wine cup and weapon (now become a trident) but the auspicious water pot in her lower left hand and the little child in the corresponding right hand still mark her as the goddess of fertility. Her demonic nature has not, however, been forgotten and is indicated by the projecting tusk-like teeth. The elongated ear-lobes, the veil, the elaborate coiffure and abundance of jewellery should be noted. Her advancement to divine rank is proved by the halo but the presence of the *urṇa* is inexplicable. The upper left hand shows traces of "*webbing*" between the fingers. The two standing figures at her feet are donors. With this four-armed image compare No. 1926.

Case 75.—No. 1774, the Bodhisattva preparing for his flight from the palace (Introd. 13), shows Chandaka and Kaṇṭhaka more reasonably placed outside the royal bed-chamber. *Cf.* No. 1718. The object borne by Chandaka is the royal turban (*ushṇīsha*) which later became an object of worship. The Offering of the Handful of Dust

appears again in No. 1776 (Introd. 27) and the First Sermon in No. 1781. Pāñchika still armed with a spear, but now seated on a lion, is seen in No. 1779.

Structural railings are rare in Gandhāra but three ornamented pillars of a railing with four cross-bars are seen in Nos. 1780, 1784 and 1790. It will be noted from the mortise holes that the cross bars of the railings were plano-convex, not double convex like those of Central India.

The sculptors of Gandhāra do not appear to have worked in marble and the fragment No. 1777 is clearly an importation and of later date than the other sculptures in this case.

Case 76.—The stucco figures from Mound H. Sahri-bahlol should be compared with those from Mound C. at the same site and exhibited in Case 66. These are well preserved and show great variety. Slight traces of colouring still remain on Nos. 1797 and 1809. No. 1839 has an aureole resembling the sculpture No. 1763. *Cf.* 1631.

Case 77.—Some idea of the wealth of sculptures which formerly adorned the monastery in Takht-i-Bāhī may be formed from the interesting reliefs exhibited in Cases 77 and 78, recovered from a very small area in 1912-13. Two scenes from the Advance to the Bodhi Seat are seen in No. 1840, to the right the Offering of the Grass-cutter, to the left the Buddha by the Bodhi Seat, at the foot of which kneels the spirit of the tree (Introd. 18). An emaciated Buddha is seen in No. 1841 (Introd. 16). The statuette No. 1842 is from a Kāśyapa scene, the figures of the ascetics being lost by the breakage of the stone. *Cf.* No. 1373. The pedestal shows the snake about to creep into the alms bowl while the Buddha sits lost in meditation (Introd. 23). Four of the five panels of No. 1844, Pl. 6, are well known legendary scenes: A. Māra's Attack (Introd. 19); B. The First Sermon (Introd. 22); C. Unidentified; D. Devadatta's hired assassins

(Introd. 37); E. The Mahāparinirvāṇa with the disciple Mahākāśyapa touching the feet of the Buddha (Introd. 39).

As three of the four scenes of No. 1846 deal with the Mahāparinirvāṇa it seems probable that the uppermost panel is connected with that event but its meaning so far eludes us. The Mahāparinirvāṇa scene requires no comment and the Division of the Relics to the eight claimants is clearly depicted, while the last panel is a fitting conclusion as it shows the relics of the Buddha enshrined in a stūpa flanked by pillars with lion (?) capitals and receiving the worship of both monks and laity (Introd. 41, 42).

The story and actors of the principal panel in No. 1847 were no doubt well known to those for whom it was created but the clue is now lost and for us it is merely a scene of adoration by nameless worshippers.

Case 78. The right panel of No. 1849 illustrates the Invitation of Śrīgupta (Introd. 34) but the scene with the curiously drooping figure is unidentified. As the left panel of No. 1850 shows one of the attempts of Devadatta to slay the Buddha it is not improbable that the scene to the right deals with the attack of his hired assassins (Introd. 37). No. 1852 with its miniature stūpa appears to have been flanked by the same legendary scenes as that in No. 1554.

The curious headdress of the bearded Vajrapāṇi No. 1858 is strongly reminiscent of Indra from whom also he must have originally borrowed his thunderbolt.

If the seated meditating Buddha with its aureole of standing Buddhas is not a representation of the Miracle of Śrāvastī it certainly owes its inspiration to such reliefs. In No. 1862, The First Sermon, the deer are omitted but the wheel of the law resting upon a *triśūla* still remains.

Cases 83[1]-84. In Cases 83-84 the sculptures obtained from various sources exhibit much variety. In Case 83

[1] Cases 79, 80, 81, 82 contain arms.

the fragment of acanthus capital No. 18-L like the winged Ichthyocentaur or Triton No. 14-L, Pl. 8 (*a*), is one of the importations of the school. The scene in No. 1-L awaits identification for though the little child might possibly be Rāhula, the Buddha's infant son, the Master is not shown in the palace of the Śākyas, the scene of their meeting, but under a tree in a garden. No. 31-L is a fragment showing the Life in the Palace while No. 33-L depicts the subsequent flight from Kapilavastu. *Cf.* No. 1882. Considerable detail is shown and Chandaka with the umbrella, Māra with the bow and the disconsolate City Goddess with crenellated crown are all preserved, as well as traces of the *yakshas* who formerly upheld the forefeet of the now lost Kaṇṭhaka (Introd. 13). Another of the many statuettes of Buddha presenting the snake to Kāśyapa is seen in No. 1890. A unique and interesting Garuḍa head, No. 913-M, is apparently of Hindu origin and certainly of later date than the rest of the sculptures.

In Case 84 the three friezes, Nos. 22, 23, 24-L, Pl. 8 (*b*), all from the same monument, appear to be purely decorative. Though they show details of Indian costume they exhibit very strong Hellenistic feeling and rank high among the productions of the school. The submission of the Nāga Apalāla, No. 28-L, Pl. 5 (*a*), differs in detail from No. 336, for here while Apalāla is shown outside the tank two *nāgīs* are still in the pool (Introd. 29). A late representation of the Birth of the Buddha is seen in No. 32-L and No. 16-L, the forepart of an elephant from under a cornice is better modelled than usual. No. 15-L exhibits an uncommon but pleasing and decorative design of *pipal* leaves and tendrils, Pl. 8 (*c*).

Case 85.— The sculptures in this case, for the most part recent acquisitions from various sources, are of exceptional interest. No. 1938 showing two wrestlers bears in Kharoshṭhī characters the word Miṅamdrasa

'of Menander'. From its form and treatment it is unlikely that it ever adorned a religious building, and though it might have been an *ex voto* of a wrestler Menander, it could equally well have served some secular purpose as it is cut behind seemingly for convenience of handling. With the vigorous treatment of the wrestlers on Menander's relief may be contrasted the stiff and doll-like figures of No. 30-L where is seen the Wrestling Match (Introd. 9). No. 1902, a mounted archer discharging an arrow, is probably part of the same story of the Martial Exercises of the Bodhisattva.

Two scenes from the story of Nanda (Introd. 24) are seen in No. 1892; the upper one shows him with his wife before the intervention of the Buddha, the lower one the shaving of his head before ordination. Unfortunately the damage to the figure of the barber on the extreme left has destroyed the implements of his trade. The little standing Buddha from Tordher, No. 1935 is of special interest as it bears the remains of a copper torque, probably the gift of some devotee more devout than orthodox. Representations of Brahmā and Indra begging the newly enlightened Buddha to preach his doctrine (*adhyeshaṇa*) are rare in the Peshawar Museum but No. 1915 appears to depict this important event. The Invitation of Śrīgupta (Introd. 34) is seen in the fragmentary sculpture No. 82-L. One of Devadatta's attempts on the life of the Buddha (Introd. 37) appears to be represented in No. 1898, but the story figured in No. 1918 still has to be interpreted. A particularly striking form of the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī is seen on No. 85-L, the flames from the shoulders and the streams of water from the feet leaving no doubt as to the identification (Introd. 32). The ascetic Buddha, No. 1912, calls for no remark (Introd. 16) but the similar sculpture No. 1911 at the bottom of the case is noteworthy for its absurd anatomy and the extraordinary treatment of the veins as well as the curious nimbus. No. 1900, the Bath of the Buddha, is believed to be unique

in Gandhāra as it represents the two *nāga-rājas* in animal form (Introd. 6). The Bath of the Buddha and the Return from Lumbinī appear again in No. 1903, and two other scenes from the nativity, the Birth and Horoscope in the curved frieze, No. 643-M, and the Birth alone in No. 1936. The White Dog which barked at the Buddha is shown in No. 35-L (Introd. 28) and in the fragment No. 1914 is seen the Bodhisattva fleeing from Kapilavastu (Introd. 13).

Portions of two miniature stūpas appear in No. 1897-A, 1897-B while No. 1920 is the bottom half of a relic casket.

APPENDIX.

EXCAVATIONS IN GANDHĀRA.

1902-03. Excavations at Charsada (Pushkarāvatī), the ancient capital of Gandhāra by Sir John Marshall and Dr. Vogel. Cases 25-29, Table Cases E, F, G.

A. S. I., 1902-03, pp. 141-184.

1906-07. Excavations at Sahribahlol near Mardan, by Dr. Spooner. Cases 1-11, Table Case A.

A. S. I., 1906-07, pp. 102-118.

1907-08. Excavations at Takht-i-Bāhī about 3 miles from Sahribahlol, by Dr. Spooner. Cases 30-48.

A. S. I., 1907-08, pp. 132-148.

1908-09. Excavations at Shāh-jī-kī-dherī about one mile east of Peshawar City, by Dr. Spooner. Table Case H, Case 55.

A. S. I., 1908-09, pp. 38-59.

1908-11. Excavations at Takht-i-Bāhī and Shāh-jī-kī-dherī. Case 55.

1909-10. Excavations at Sahribahlol, by Dr. Spooner. Cases 49-54, Table Case N.

A. S. I., 1909-10, pp. 46-62.

1910-11. Excavations at Shāh-jī-kī-dherī. by H. Hargreaves. Table Cases H. and N.

A. S. I., 1910-11, pp. 25-32.

Excavations at Takht-i-Bāhī, by H. Hargreaves.

A. S. I., 1910-11, pp. 33-39.

1911-12. Excavations at Sahribahlol, by Sir Aurel Stein. Cases 56-76.

A. S. I., 1911-12, pp. 95-118.

1912-13. Excavations at Takht-i-Bāhī. Cases 77-78.
Excavations at Takht-i-Bāhī and Sahribahlol. Table Case L.

1920-21. Excavations at Jamālgarhī by H. Hargreaves. Table Case M.

1920-24. Sculptures recovered during conservation at Jamālgarhī and Takht-i-Bāhī.
In the window openings of the lower galleries.

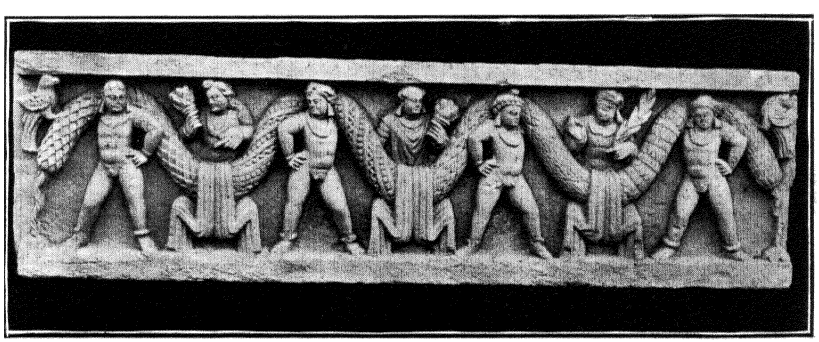
BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Beal . . .	Buddhist Records of the Western World. 2 Vols. London, 1906.
,, . . .	The Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha, London, 1875.
	Cambridge History of India. Vol. I., Cambridge, 1922.
Coomaraswamy .	The Indian Origin of the Buddha Image. *J. A. O. S.*, 1926.
,, .	The Origin of the Buddha Image. Art Bulletin, Vol. IX.
,, .	The Buddha's Hair and Crown. *J. R. A. S.*, 1928.
Foucher . . .	L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra. Vol. I. Paris, 1905; Vol. II. Paris, 1918.
,, . . .	Note sur la géographie ancienne du Gandhāra. Hanoi, 1902.
,, . . .	Les bas-reliefs du Stūpa de Sikri. Paris, 1903.
Grünwedel . .	Buddhist Art in India. London, 1901.
Hardy . . .	A Manual of Buddhism. London, 1880.
Kern . . .	Manual of Indian Buddhism. Strassburg, 1896.
Marshall . . .	Guide to Taxila, 2nd Edition. Calcutta, 1921.
Rockhill . . .	The Life of the Buddha. London, 1884.

MGIPC—S8—III-9-27—7-2-30—500.



(*a*) No. 1527, MIRACLE OF ŚRĀVASTĪ, pp. 8, 11, 42.



(*b*) No. 508, YAKSHAS AND GARLAND, p. 8.



No. 799, ASCETIC BUDDHA, pp. 8, 29, 85.



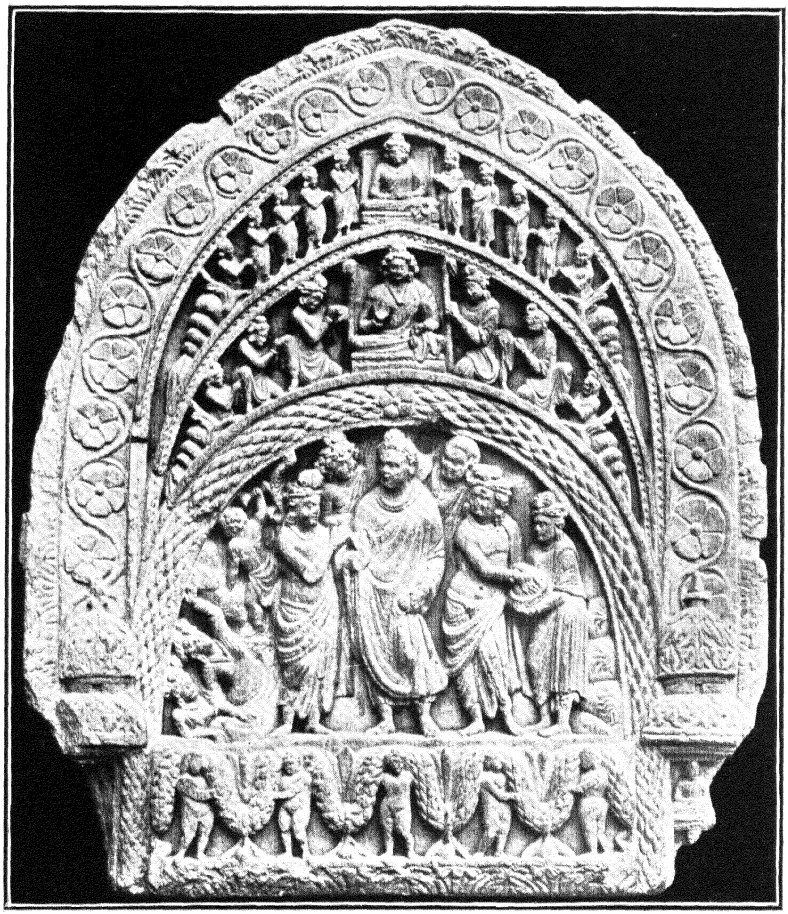
(*a*) No. 200, Bodhisattva Avalokitêśvara, pp. 9, 11, 69.



(*b*) No. 1773, Four-armed Hāritī, pp. 11, 44, 103.



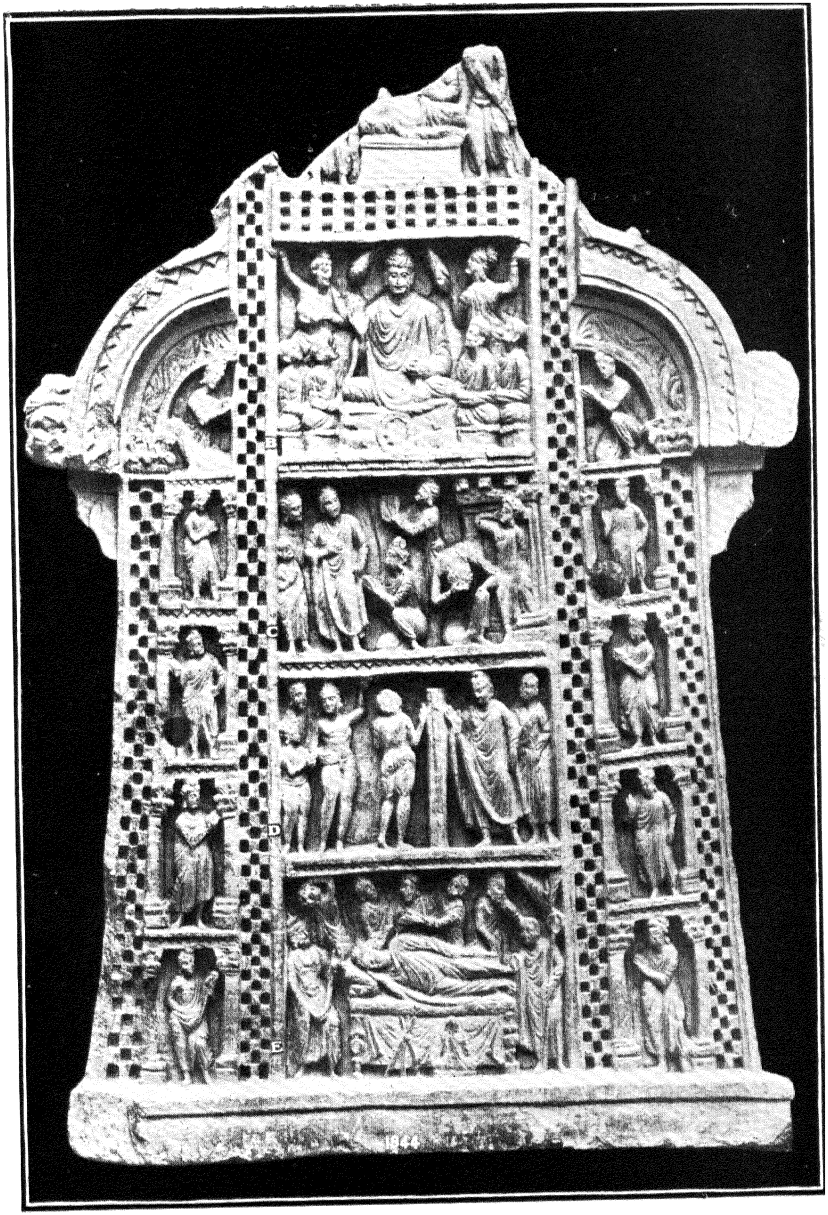
(*c*) No. 1866, Bodhisattva Maitreya, pp. 9, 11, 55, 56.



(*a*) No. 28 L, SUBMISSION OF THE NĀGA APALĀLA, pp. 8, 11, 39, 75, 106.



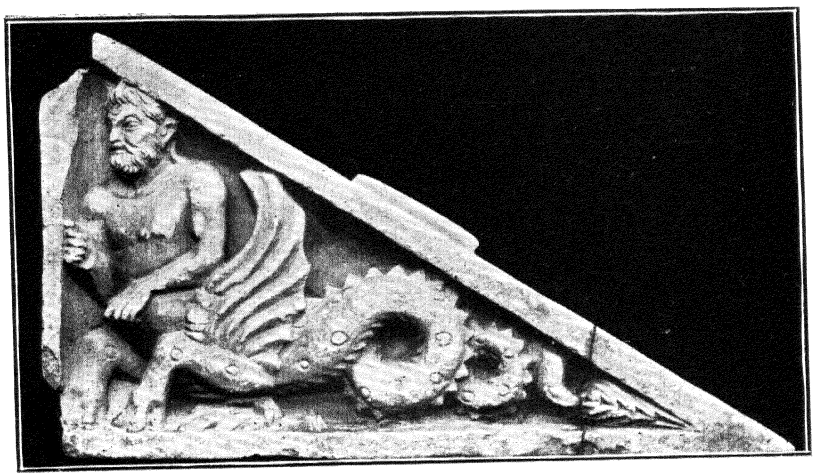
(*b*) No. 1891, SYĀMA JĀTAKA, pp. 20, 59.



No. 1844, (A) THE TEMPTATION. (B) FIRST SERMON. (C) UNIDENTIFIED SCENE. (D) DEVADATTA'S ASSASSINS. (E) MAHĀPARINIRVĀṆA, pp. 31, 34, 44, 46, 104.



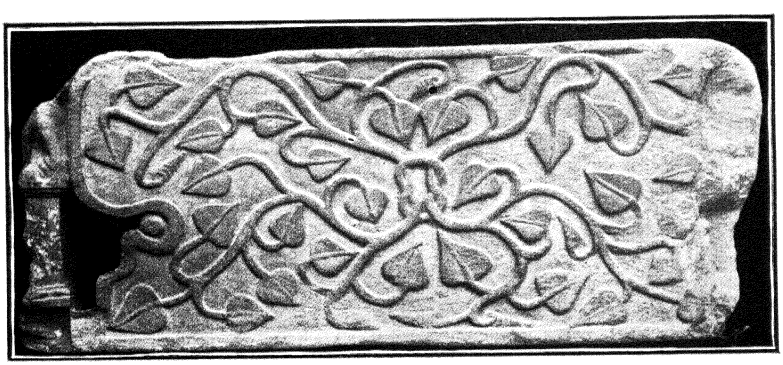
No. 241, HĀRITĪ AND PĀÑCHIKA, pp. 44, 50.



(*a*) No. 14 L, ICTHYOCENTAUR, pp. 8, 11, 83, 106.



(*b*) No. 24 L, FRIEZE OF STANDING FIGURES, pp. 8, 11, 106.



(*c*) No. 15 L, CONVENTIONAL DESIGN OF *pipal* LEAVES WITH TENDRILS, pp. 11, 106.



(*a*) No. 1430, BUDDHA WITH CRYSTAL *urṇa*, pp. 8, 17, 52.



(*b*) No. 1427, ROYAL FEMALE WITH MINIATURE SHRINE, p. 53.



Kanishka Relic Casket (bronze), pp. 5, 10, 47.

Government of India Publications are obtainable from the Government of India Central Publication Branch, 3, Government Place, West, Calcutta, and from the following Agents :—

EUROPE.

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA, 42, GROSVENOR GARDENS, LONDON, S. W. 1.

And at all Booksellers.

INDIA AND CEYLON : Provincial Book Depôts.

MADRAS :—Superintendent, Government Press, Mount Road, Madras.
BOMBAY :—Superintendent, Government Book Depôt, Town Hall, Bombay.
SIND :—Library attached to the Office of the Commissioner in Sind, Karachi.
BENGAL :—Bengal Secretariat Book Depôt, Writers' Buildings, Room No. 1, Ground Floor, Calcutta.
UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH :—Superintendent of Government Press, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Allahabad.
PUNJAB :—Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, Lahore.
BURMA :—Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, Rangoon.
CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR.—Superintendent, Government Printing, Central Provinces, Nagpur.
ASSAM :—Superintendent, Assam Secretariat Press, Shillong.
BIHAR AND ORISSA :—Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa, P. O. Gulzarbagh, Patna.
COORG :—Office of the Chief Commissioner of Coorg, Bangalore.
NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE :—Manager, Government Printing and Stationery, Peshawar.

Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta and Simla.
W. Newman & Co., Ltd., Calcutta.
R. Cambray & Co., Calcutta.
S. K. Lahiri & Co., Calcutta.
The Indian School Supply Depôt, 309, Bow Bazar Street, Calcutta
Butterworth & Co. (India), Ltd., Calcutta.
Rai M. C. Sarcar Bahadur & Sons, 90-2A, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
Standard Literature Company, Limited, Calcutta.
Association Press, Calcutta.
Chukervertty, Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., 13, College Square, Calcutta.
The Book Company, Calcutta.
James Murray & Co., 12, Government Place, Calcutta. (For Meteorological Publications only.)
Ray Chaudhury & Co., 68-5, Ashutosh Mukerji Road, Calcutta.
Scientific Publishing Co., 9, Taltolla Lane, Calcutta.
Chatterjee & Co., 204, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
Standard Law Book Society, 8-2, Hastings Street, Calcutta.
The Hindu Library, 3, Nanda Lal Mullick Lane, Calcutta.
B. C. Basak, Esq., Proprietor, Albert Library, Dacca.
Mitra Brothers, Rajshahi.
Higginbothams, Madras.
Rochouse and Sons, Madras.
G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.
Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.
P. Varadachary & Co., Madras.
S. Murthy & Co., Madras.
Bright & Co., Trivandrum.
The Booklover's Resort, Talkad, Trivandrum, South India.
E. M. Gopalakrishna Kone, Pudumandapam, Madura.
Central Book Depot, Madura.
Vijapur & Co., Vizagapatam.
Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay.
D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.
Sunder Pandurang, Bombay.
Ram Chandra Govind & Sons, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.
N. M. Tripathi & Co., Booksellers, Princess Street, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.
New and Secondhand Bookshop, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.
Mrs. Radhabai Atmaram Sagoon, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.
J. M. Pandia & Co., Bombay.
Gatulal & Co., Bombay.
A. H. Wheeler & Co, Allahabad, Calcutta and Bombay.
S. Govind & Co., Sandhurst Road, Girgaum, Bombay.
Proprietor, New Kitabkhana, Poona.
The Manager, Oriental Book Supplying Agency, 15, Shukrawar, Poona City.
Rama Krishna Bros., Opposite Vishrambag, Poona City.
S. P. Bookstall, 21, Budhwar, Poona.
Manaldas & Sons, Booksellers and Publishers, Bhaga Talao, Surat.
The Standard Book and Stationery Co., 32-33, Arbab Road, Peshawar
R. B. Umadikar & Co., The Bharat Book Depôt, Dharwar.
The Standard Bookstall, Karachi, Quetta, Delhi, Murree and Rawalpindi.
The Karachi Book Depôt, Elphinstone Street, Camp, Karachi.
The English Bookstall, Karachi.
The Standard Bookstall, Quetta.
U. P. Malhotra & Co., Quetta.
J. Ray & Sons, 43 K. & L., Edwardes Road, Rawalpindi, Murree and Lahore.
The Standard Book Depôt, Lahore, Nainital, Mussoorie, Dalhousie, Ambala Cantonment and Delhi.
N. B. Mathur, Supdt., Nazir Kanun Hind Press, Allahabad.
The North India Christian Tract and Book Society, 18, Clive Road, Allahabad.
Ram Dayal Agarwala, 184, Katra, Allahabad.
The Indian Army Book Depôt, Juhi, Cawnpore.
The Indian Army Book Depôt, Jullundur City.
Manager, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow.
The Upper India Publishing House, Ltd., Literature Palace, Aminuddaula Park, Lucknow.
Rai Sahib M. Gulab Singh & Sons, Mufid-i-Am Press, Lahore and Allahabad.
Rama Krishna & Sons, Booksellers, Anarkali, Lahore.
Puri Brothers, Booksellers and Publishers, Katcheri Road, Lahore.
The Tilak School Bookshop, Lahore.
The Standard Bookstall, Lahore.
The Proprietor, Punjab Sanskrit Book Depôt, Saidmitha Street, Lahore.
The Insurance Publicity Co., Ltd., Lahore.
The Punjab Religious Book Society, Lahore.
Manager of the Imperial Book Depôt, 63, Chandni Chauk Street, Delhi.
Fono Book Agency, New Delhi.
Oxford Book and Stationery Company, Delhi and Calcutta.
Supdt., American Baptist Mission Press, Rangoon.
The Modern Publishing House, Ltd., 30, Phayre Street, Rangoon.
Burma Book Club, Ltd., Rangoon.
Manager, The "Hitavada," Nagpur.
Bhisey Brothers, Booksellers and Stationers, Sitabaldi, Nagpur.
S. C. Talukdar, Proprietor, Students & Co., Cooch Behar.
The Manager, Ceylon Observer, Colombo.
The Manager, The Indian Book Shop, Benares City
Nandkishore & Bros., Chowk, Benares City.
The Srivilliputtur Co-operative Trading Union, Ltd., Srivilliputtur (S. I. R.).
Raghunath Prasad & Sons, Patna City.
The Students' Emporium, Patna.
K. L. Mathur & Bros., Guzri, Patna City.
Dandekar Brothers, Indore City.
Pushtakalaya Sahayak Sahakari, Ltd., Baroda.
The Hyderabad Book Depôt, Chaderghat, Hyderabad (Deccan).
Thakur & Co., Amraoti.
S. Krishnaswami & Co., Teppakulam P. O., Trichinopoly Fort.
National College Teachers' Union Book Depôt, Trichinopoly.